

The World Tomorrow

A Journal Looking Toward a Social Order Based on the Principles of Jesus

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I Am A Chinese

I-TO WEN

I AM a Chinese, I am a Chinese,
Heir of Huang-Ti, and of the race
That from Pamir plateau came—
The loftiest spot on the globe.

My people is like a stream
That glided down the Kun-Lun slope,
Piercing through Asia plain,
With tradition, exquisite, overflown.

Behold its solemn air,
Savoring of Five-Holy-Mount;¹
With tenderness of a cloud in Spring,
And freedom that's of Autumn wind.

Our history is a legend, fit for lyre,
A music of peace, first wrought
By the old sage in the time of Yao,—
Our history is nothing but a lore.

Our history is like a golden jug,
With offering wine filled to the brim—
For Heaven we revere and Heaven we obey,
Living in mirth, in ease, contented.

It's also like a handful of lustral tears,
Tears that Confucius over Chi-Lin² shed;
It's again like a roar of laughter,
Laughter of Chuang-Tze, Chun Yu Kum, and Tung Fang Shou³.

Miraculous indeed is my wisdom,—
A gift brought by the mysterious horse;
My song is full of rhythmical spell,
For it's after the holy Phoenix.

Silence of Gobi dwelt in my heart,
Drips from Tai-Shan rocks formed my patience,
Water of Yellow river ran into my complexion,
And magnificent Chien-Ko⁴ framed up my chest.

I am not asleep! I am not asleep!
Fire in my heart is burning still.
It's burning for my country,
With vehement and trembling flame.

My memory is still like a cord,
And on it numerous knots are tied,
Each representing one historical event—
I represent the history of five thousand years.

I am the history of five thousand-years past,
And I am the history of five thousand years to come.
I want to mend the historical stage,
And prepare to perform our future drama.

Our history in future would be a song,
Singing the world's eternal peace;
Our future history would be a cup of wine,
In a golden jug, offered to Heaven.

Our future history would be a tear drop,
Purging away the sorrows of humanity;
Our history in future would be a smile,
Smiling away the melancholy of the universe.

For we are a stream, nay, a milky way,
A train of grandeur and illumination—
Behold! The four hundred million stars,
Still shining in the indestructible sky!

(Translator's Note: Above is a literal translation, a very literal one, of a poem which first appeared in Ta-Kiang Quarterly published at Shanghai.—C. H. L.)
¹There are five mountains in five different provinces of China that have been considered as sacred in the history of China.
²Name of a prehistoric animal, which appeared at the time of Confucius.
³Three of the famed humorists in Chinese history.

⁴Name of a cliff along the upper Yang-tse river in the province of Szechuan.

The National Spirit of China

DAVID Z. T. YUI

THE Chinese people have often been criticised as having no national spirit. How can one imagine the absence of a national spirit among a people who have witnessed the rise and fall of many nations and who have themselves passed successfully through 5,000 years without serious interruption? It is perhaps true that they do not have what is known as a nationalistic spirit, which, however, is different from a national spirit.

A national spirit is the inner-being or soul of a people. It is that which holds a people or race together, distinguishes them from any other people or race, and marks out their special contribution to the world's civilization. It is built upon their cultural heritage, their accumulated thought-life, and the activities, abilities, habits and experiences of past generations. In this article we shall take up different phases of Chinese life from which emanates our national spirit.

1. *Religious Life.* Although the Chinese have not been looked upon as a strongly religious people, yet their life as a whole has certainly been greatly influenced by various religious conceptions and experiences, some of which we shall mention.

A. Reverence for Heaven. Reverence for Heaven was found in the earliest authentic Chinese history and extends down to the present time. From the first we ascribed human personality to Heaven which we conceived of as having feelings, emotions, and will-power. Generally, our people, while in happiness and success, offer sacrifices of gratitude to Heaven; and, while in difficulty or distress, plead to Heaven for mercy and compassion.

B. Belief in the Natural State. The central teaching of Lao-tse declares that Tao existed even previous to the cosmic order and that man has no creative capacity; that the natural state is absolutely the best and the most beautiful; that all human efforts are sin and desecration to the natural state; and that all must return to the natural state. Our people, under the teaching of Taoism, have lost the ambition to uplift themselves and improve, and they also tend to be inactive.

On the other hand, from Taoism, our people have learned to prefer the noble spiritual realm to materialistic civilization. It further instructs us to drop our "external life" so as to perfect our "inner life." The key to the "inner life" is to free ourselves from "excesses, luxuries, and pride," to annihilate all "selfish desires," and to practice strict "simplicity."

C. Belief in Nirvana. The ultimate goal of Buddhism is Nirvana, which briefly means the loss of all personal consciousness by absorption into the Divine. In Nirvana, there is neither life nor death. A perfect state of happiness, which means peace, tranquillity, absence of pain, full freedom and absolute annihilation of anxiety and craving, can be attained not through fame, power, influence, or wealth, but through self-abnegation and walking the path of virtue. Buddha is not an unattainable goal. Each man being natu-

rally endowed with wisdom is fully capable of becoming Buddha. "Wherever and whenever you lay down the butcher's knife, there and then you will attain Buddhahood."

This religion in its degraded forms later appeals largely to the motive of fear, allows much ignorance and superstition to develop in and around it whose symptoms we see almost every day. Its priesthood generally is rightly despised. The revival of Buddhism in China today, however, constitutes a potent movement and is fraught with great possibilities.

D. Appeal of Activities. We have chosen the word "Activities," to refer to Christianity because it is the "activities" rather than the teachings and spiritual experiences of Christianity which have arrested the attention of the Chinese people and have won their respect. To the popular mind Christianity is synonymous with Christian schools, hospitals, asylums, preaching, church, worship, evangelistic campaigns, relief parties, etc. The more thoughtful people, however, know that there must be something in the Christian religion which compels men and women, often at great sacrifices, to devote their life-blood to these "activities."

Meanwhile, over-emphasis on "activities" has been creating difficulties for Christianity itself, and leading many Chinese to suspect ulterior motives behind them. It is a plain fact that the spread of Christianity has allowed itself to be taken advantage of by foreign governments in their imperialistic designs upon China. Christianity in China has been enjoying special privileges granted by the Chinese government after defeat by the foreign powers. The burning questions before Christianity today are "activities" or the "dynamic" behind them, treaty protection or the good-will of the Chinese people. Will not the answers to these questions have a very great bearing upon the national spirit of China?

II. *Political Life.* The political situation in China is indeed a puzzle to the Westerners. Under almost no government, the Chinese people can still live and work. Despite political divisions, they remain as one people and retain their homogeneous life. Can such a state of affairs exist anywhere else in the world? Doubtless, it is their national spirit which is holding them together.

A. Family and Clan. Unlike the West, not the individual but the family and clan is the recognized unit of our country. Clans are found in rural districts and they still comprise the overwhelming portion of our most stable population. The clan is a great system to hold members of the same family together for generations, to unify them, to practice self government and to provide a training-ground for our men for public or official life. Loyalty to one another, mutual help, and non-dependence upon local and national government have been developed to a very high degree. Each clan rules itself, provides public education for its children, organizes protection against outside invasion, settles disputes among clan-members, and administers ancestral-worship each

year. Ordinarily, the only contact with government is payment of taxes, and, occasionally, disputes with other clans, which are brought, when they cannot settle them among themselves, before a district magistrate.

B. Education and Character. Feudalism in China passed away many centuries ago, and even that was unlike the caste-system of India. Generally, the people have been divided into four groups: scholars, farmers, artisans, and merchants. However, even this general division has never been made hard and fast, and our people have always been enjoying free social mobility. True equality was recognized and given the people from almost the very start of our national life. Not only were men born equal but the highest office in the state, including the Emperorship, was open to all alike. A careful study of Chinese history, ancient and modern, will reveal numerous instances of men who, by sheer education, ability, and character, have arisen from the lowest station in life to the highest office in state.

C. Relation between Government and People. The Son of Heaven and the people also sons of Heaven, were believed to be on an equal basis from very early days. The functions of a government are often likened to those of a parent to his children. The Book of Poetry says, "When a prince loves what the people love, and hates what the people hate, then is he what is called the parent of the people." "Prince" here simply means the government. The relation between government and people is also compared to that between teachers and pupils. "Encourage them; lead them on; rectify them; straighten them; help them; give them wings—thus causing them to become possessors of themselves." Mencius vigorously taught that the people were the most important element and the sovereign the lightest. Violation of these functions even on the part of the Emperor might lead to his punishment as "a mere villain."

D. Foundation of Rule. In China, we have not, as countries in the West, depended so much upon law, governmental machinery, and political organization, although we have them all. Nor have we laid very great stress upon special political training or statecraft on the part of officials. The real foundation of our government may be summed up in this familiar quotation from the Great Learning: "Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts."

Certainly, we have been condemning rule for "profit" or by force. Mencius said, "Why must your Majesty use that word, 'profit'? What I am provided with are counsels to benevolence and righteousness." "When one by force subdues men, they do not submit to him in heart. They submit, because their strength is not adequate to resist. When one subdues men by virtue, in their hearts' core they are pleased, and sincerely submit." Confucius said, "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity be sought by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought to be given them by the rules of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good." These sayings from our Classics have been inculcated in the minds of generations of our students.

E. World State. In China, a nation as such has never been considered as the acme in political life. "All-under-heaven" has been the objective. This may account for the apparent lack of nationalism in the hearts of our people. Our conception of the World State, or Great Harmony, however, is: "When the great principle prevails, all-under-heaven will be public spirited. Good and able men will be chosen for office. Mutual trust will be promoted, and cordial relations maintained. Men will not confine their affections to their own parents and sons. Old people will be cared for till the end of their days. All full-grown people will be in employment; all young children given opportunity to grow; and all widowers, widows, orphans, deformed and sick people taken care of." The Confucian doctrine of "All within the four seas are brethren" thoroughly permeates this "state of Great Harmony."

F. Influx of Western Influences. During the latter part of the last century, the influx of Western ideas and influences, political and otherwise, began to assume serious proportions. The doctrine of "Might is Right" has been repeatedly demonstrated with success in China by the Western Powers. The efficacy of diplomacy for national gains, right or wrong, has made a deep impression. Opium had to be admitted. Territories were ceded under force. China's sovereign rights were ruthlessly infringed upon. Unequal treaties had to be signed. Equalities of men were not accorded the Chinese in their international relations. Under the circumstances, the Chinese people "dared feel indignant but dared not express their indignation."

Meanwhile, modern education was spreading in China, and Chinese students were returning in larger numbers with their Japanese and Western training and experience. "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" were on the lips of the student-class. More railways were built and steam navigation was greatly extended. The people were slowly aroused from their lethargic state, and were beginning to take hold of their responsibilities. The Manchu Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China was established. During the last decade, "isms" of various brands from the West have been pushed into China, and not a few of these "isms" are being experimented upon here and there. Who can prophesy what the results from the commingling of the Chinese and Western political life will be?

We have attempted to mention the most important influences and factors in an accumulated national life from which the national spirit of our people naturally and truly emanates. The ideals of life and life's relations enunciated and lived by our forefathers remain unsurpassed even according to present standards of both East and West. We are not a people merely with a glorious past but one in whom that glorious past is still surging and throbbing and seeking for avenues of expression. No force can check its activities; it is bound to issue forth in a greater present and future. We are struggling not to save our country as the ordinary expression goes—for who can destroy our nation with such a national spirit as we have?—but for the benefit of ourselves and the world to strengthen and improve by taking advantage of what the modern civilization has to offer.

We should remember that our national development should not be brought about in any forced manner but it should be allowed to follow in its own way and take its own time.

While we shall need and appreciate outside coöperation, we must all take care that no greenhouse process be employed which might hasten its blossoming as well as its early with-

ering and death which would be a calamity not only to the Chinese people but also to the world at large. We therefore reiterate: give us time; our national spirit will do the work

China and the Foreign Powers

Thoughts on the Abolition of Extraterritoriality

FRANK W. LEE

SINCE the Nanking Treaty of 1842, China has experienced a succession of defeats and humiliations at the hands of foreign powers. Each successive defeat marked an advance in the policy of encroachment upon China's sovereignty and a corresponding restriction upon China's administrative integrity. At the present time China's status as an independent state is greatly impaired by treaty provisions.

Extraterritoriality, in some of its many ramifications, penetrates and influences practically all the relations and contacts between foreigners and Chinese. If we are to follow the weight of very considerable opinion both in and outside of China, some readjustments are not only desirable but imperative. Any adjustment of relations must necessitate modification and change in the present system of extraterritoriality. It is therefore futile to argue original justification for the system. Whatever may have been the reasons for the imposition of extraterritoriality upon China over sixty years ago, the fact remains that China has progressed and today the Chinese people are unanimous in their opposition to its continuance. In the face of this nation-wide opposition nothing can be gained by academic discussions as to the whys and wherefores of the system. The delegates at the Washington Conference, after hearing the presentation of both sides of the question, decided to relegate all the arguments to the background and approach the problem in the light of its present significance by ascertaining the real facts so as to arrive at some common ground of agreement. The last official pronouncement on this delicate subject was made at the Washington Conference. In studying the problem we can do no better than to begin with the Washington Conference Resolution Regarding Extraterritoriality in China, which stipulates:

"That the Governments of the Powers . . . shall establish a Commission to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China, and into the laws and the judicial system and the methods of judicial administration of China, with a view to reporting to the Governments of the several Powers . . . their findings of fact in regard to these matters, and their recommendations as to such means as they may find suitable to improve the existing conditions of the administration of justice in China, and to assist and further the efforts of the Chinese Government to effect such legislation and judicial reforms as would warrant the several Powers in relinquishing, either progressively or otherwise, their respective rights of extraterritoriality."

The Chinese delegates expressed China's readiness to coöperate with this Commission so it may be said that China and the Powers, in 1921, were agreed regarding what steps were to be taken for the final abolition of extraterritoriality.

The first question then, is whether the Resolution of the Washington Conference can now be put into effect, or is now inadequate? The new nationalism in China has progressed rapidly since the Washington Conference. Recent developments in China have rendered the relations between Chinese and foreigners extremely delicate. The Chinese have become highly sensitive on all questions which concern China's independence and sovereignty. Had the Washington Conference Resolution been carried out immediately the coöperation of China might have been assured. There is now a grave doubt that the Washington Conference plan will prove satisfactory. Firstly, because it does not commit the Powers to any definite action in regard to the relinquishment of extraterritorial rights. The Resolution goes on to state, "That each of the Powers . . . shall be deemed free to accept or reject all or any portion of the recommendations of the Commission herein contemplated . . ." This leaves the matter entirely open, and if one or more of the leading Powers having extensive commercial interests in China reject the findings of the Commission, the nationals of the other Powers would naturally oppose the carrying out of the recommendations by their governments, for it might place them at a disadvantage in respect to trade competition.

Secondly, the Resolution is too vague. No date is fixed for bringing the recommendations into effect. If it took three years to receive from all the Powers the ratification of such harmless Washington Conference treaties, one can well imagine how long it will take for all the Powers to come to an agreement regarding such an important question as the relinquishment of extraterritoriality.

Thirdly, it is not at all definite whether the Powers intended that concerted action should be taken in carrying out the recommendations or whether each nation was to act independently. Basing a surmise on what has been the practice of the Powers hitherto, it would seem that the Powers are still unanimous that they must present a united front when negotiating with China. China's experiences in her attempts to obtain revisions of the tariff, when she has to secure the consent of some 16 or 17 Powers, and could obtain a revision only after many years of tortuous negotiations with much bargaining, does not tend to allay her distrust of any such conditional arrangement for the abolition of extraterritoriality.

Fourthly, the Resolution makes each nation the judge of the findings of the Commission. There is no standard set up with which to measure the progress of China's judicial system. Each nation will compare China's system with its own. But as there is a wide diversity of laws and procedure in the several states, it is obvious that China's system cannot possibly conform to all these dissimilar systems.

every respect. So while some nations may be satisfied that China's laws and judicial system meet with the requirements of their standards, others may, with equal sincerity, point out what appear to them to be glaring defects.

Furthermore, it is doubtful whether the Chinese Government will be able to coöperate with the Powers in the work of the Commission. Attempted action by the Powers without the coöperation of China would be worse than futile. We have before us the spectacle of a Judicial Inquiry being conducted here in Shanghai by three eminent judges delegated by their governments to investigate the May 30th incident. The Chinese refuse to recognize the proceedings and will present no evidence before that tribunal. Again, the attempt of the Peking Government to convene the Tariff Conference in accordance with the Washington Conference Treaty is one of the avowed causes of the present civil war. It becomes increasingly evident that the desired readjustment of relations between China and foreign States can be brought about only through the coöperation of the Chinese people. There are substantial reasons for believing this coöperation cannot be obtained for the purpose of considering extraterritoriality on the basis of the Washington Conference Resolution.

The Chinese are becoming impatient with delays, conferences, and vague promises. They require something more definite. Germany, Austria, and Russia have abandoned extraterritoriality. Young China would emulate the example of Young Turkey. The demand for the unconditional abrogation of all unequal treaties increases in volume. Not only students, but leading statesmen voice this demand on every occasion. The most influential political party, the Kuomintang, makes this a plank in their party platform.

But unconditional abrogation of the treaties will not solve the problem. It will simply render the problem more acute. The foreigners are in China to stay. When extraterritoriality is abolished the rights of aliens in China must be secured to them in some other way if China is to avoid serious conflicts and complications with the Powers. A nation has a right to demand that its citizens receive substantial justice from the courts of other Powers anywhere in the world. So far, no plan has been formulated that meets with general approval and acceptance, or holds forth any promise of being operated successfully under the prevailing conditions in China.

There are four essential requisities for the final abolition of extraterritoriality. China must establish a stable government whose authority is recognized in all the provinces, and whose mandates will be effective all over China. Any arrangements the Powers may make with the Peking Government would be liable to repudiation by the provinces unless that government has the support of the people.

Modern codes of law must be not only drafted and promulgated but enforced. The Law Codification Commission under the able direction of Drs. Wang Chung Huai and Lo Wen Kan has given China codes of law that compare favorably with those of any other state. It remains for the courts throughout China to enforce these codes.

An independent and trained judiciary is the third requisite. China has many men trained in legal procedure. Here in Shanghai there are a group of eminent Chinese lawyers, graduates of American and European universities, who are

practising alongside of foreign lawyers with satisfaction and success. China must solicit their services for the building up of an independent judiciary that will command the respect of both Chinese and foreigners.

With a stable government, modern codes of law, an independent judiciary, China still has one other task before her. She must convince the world that justice can be obtained in China by foreigners. Much of the opposition to the abolition of extraterritoriality is due to the fear, on the part of many foreigners, that they would not obtain impartial justice in Chinese courts simply because they are foreigners. It is regrettable that this should be so, but there is no use denying the fact that foreigners do not wish to trust themselves to Chinese courts and Chinese judges. These apprehensions can be dissipated only by concrete examples of impartial justice. Mere assertion and argument will have little weight. This is where China may utilize her present jurisdiction over Germans and Russians. If China is scrupulously careful in dispensing impartial justice to those nationals who are now under her laws and courts, she can establish precedents which will be both valuable and convincing.

The Powers may assist China by abandoning the practice of united action in China. Chinese understand that in Europe and the West no such concerted action governs the relations between states except where they deal with so-called inferior Powers or late enemies. The Concert of Powers in China smacks too much of superiority, to be welcomed. The powers in their anxiety to present a solid front to China assume a dictatorial policy not conducive to friendly feeling. Joint-representation, joint-notes and warnings, joint-memorandums on all conceivable subjects have been



"The Jarring Notes"—This cartoon shows a Western Imperialist playing the notes, "Justice, Peace, Humanity, and International Friendship" to the Chinese.

—From *Eastern Miscellany*, Commercial Press, Shanghai.

thrust upon China. Even when the representatives of some of the foreign powers have had reasons to doubt the wisdom of a given action, they have been dragooned into acquiescence by the fetish of preservation of foreign prestige. Let each Power deal with China in its individual capacity and according to the dictates of the wishes of its own people.

Those Powers who sincerely sympathize with China's national aspirations should announce their determination to relinquish extraterritoriality within a definite period, and then offer China their friendly assistance for the establishment of the necessary judicial machinery to enable China to take up her new responsibilities. Encouraged by this friend-

ly gesture, China would welcome that kind of foreign assistance. By such an act, any of the Powers can render substantial help to China and hasten the day when modern courts will dispense justice to both Chinese and foreigners. Something must be done to restore confidence, promote good will, and bring about whole-hearted coöperation. Nothing will clear the atmosphere so effectively as a voluntary expression from one or more of the Powers that they are willing to place their nationals under the jurisdiction of China with the perfect assurance that China will rise to the occasion, and protect their interests under her own laws just as well, and better, than they can now be protected under the system of extraterritoriality.

Financial Co-operation from the West

D. K. LIEU

FOREIGN financial coöperation with China has been along three different lines—general Government loans, railway loans, and capital for private business. The former two have attracted the most attention, both in China and abroad, and have given birth to such international organizations as the old and new consortiums; but steadily the influence of foreign financial coöperation in private enterprises is increasing day by day. The significance of railway and business finance will be more and more appreciated in the future and overshadow that of the general loans, especially as the Chinese Government is not borrowing very much from the West in recent years. I will take up all three phases of foreign financial coöperation in the order given above.

GENERAL GOVERNMENT LOANS

In the past the Chinese Government used to borrow very often from foreign sources, partly for the construction of railways and laying of cables and partly for general Government expenses. The railway and cable loans will be considered later in another connection. Those for general expenses have been in most cases contracted, directly or indirectly, in connection with some indemnity payment, the earliest one being a loan to pay an instalment of a Russian indemnity. On account of the Japanese indemnity of 1895, seven foreign loans were made in the period of five years, totalling 370,000,000 taels, or about \$300,000,000 United States currency. Then in 1901, on account of the Boxer trouble, China was made to pay an international indemnity of 450 million taels, or interest included, 982,238,150 taels (about \$786,700,000 U. S. currency). For payment of the first instalment, the Government contracted a loan of one million pounds sterling from the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. Since then many foreign loans were made, all of which were in foreign currencies, totalling at the end of 1924 approximately \$628,500,000 gold outstanding. This is less than the total amount of the Boxer Indemnity, which goes to prove that without the latter all the general foreign loans might not have been made at all.

The European Powers have been the chief money lenders

to the Chinese Government, because the United States has hesitated to make investments in the Far East, especially when the terms do not appeal to the practical business mind. Consequently, in general Government loans as well as railway finance, American capital has not played a very important part in China. Nor did Japanese capital, until the period of the Great War. By that time the European Powers had to keep all their available capital at home to finance the war, and loans to China for operations not directly connected with the war were out of the question. The United States, too, had to lend its surplus money to the Allies in the European battlefield, and although two loans were made to China in 1916 and 1919, she soon discontinued the practice. Into their shoes stepped Japan. She had capital for lending, and she was more interested in the effects of the war in the Far East than the war itself. Seeing the chance for augmenting her financial influence in China, she made a number of large loans to the latter in the short period of two years—1918 and 1919—which aggregated over a hundred million yen (Japanese currency, each about half an American dollar).

The New Consortium agreement stopped such promiscuous lending on the part of the foreign nations while at the same time the Chinese people also objected to the Government's financial policy. In 1921 the Government began to pay special attention to internal loans, and it has since depended mainly on the latter to meet its special needs. There is a very active market for domestic loan bonds, and the Chinese people are now anxious to invest in Government securities in preference to industrial shares, which have, since the war boom was over, proved to be not quite profitable. The tendency therefore is for this kind of foreign financial coöperation—namely, loans to the Government for the general expenses—to become less and less important or welcome to the Chinese nation. In the not remote future, the Chinese Government will continue to rely on native capital in such matters, although it may develop into a common practice for foreigners to invest in the Chinese domestic bonds, thus furnishing financial coöperation in an indirect manner. Whatever it may be, this phase of foreign coöper-

ation, especially from the West, is not likely to regain its former significance in the future unless it be for some specific constructive purposes, as railroad building, etc.

RAILROAD FINANCE

Talking about railroad finance, it may be pointed out at the outset that most of the Chinese railways are owned by the state. All trunk lines, except the Yunnan and the South Manchuria railways are Government lines or jointly operated by the Government and some foreign Power. An example of the latter is the Chinese Eastern in Manchuria. Private enterprise is limited to a few very short lines. There was a movement for extensive railroad building by private companies, just before the Revolution of 1912, but it was strongly opposed by the Manchu rulers, and did not revive under the Republican regime. The Government railways were mostly built with foreign capital, and although the important ones are now yielding handsome surpluses over their operating expenses, which means that no further financial coöperation from abroad is necessary for running them, the construction of new lines must still be financed by foreign investors. Hence, in the future, this phase of foreign financial coöperation will not decrease in importance, but it may on the contrary increase, if the lack of railways is more keenly felt by the people and the Government has the determination to supply the need.

The latter part of the history of railroad building in China is not very encouraging. The foreign lenders were mostly backed up by their respective Governments, which were interested in extending their political influence in China rather than developing trade and industries for their own sake. On the other hand, the Chinese Government wanted the money for general purposes, and not really for railway construction. Both parties were willing to make railway loans without building any railway, although some commercially strategic line was generally agreed upon as reserved for the creditor country, and no other nation might construct a railway over that route or even parallel to it. In other words, the creditor country was more anxious to prevent others from building a particular railway than to build it itself, and the loan was a *quid pro quo* for such considerations.

The fight for railway spheres was so keen at one time that the competition to make loans to China might almost be considered as "cut throat." As all competition usually ends, the lending Powers began to agree among themselves on some plan of joint effort, and the old Consortium was formed. At first it included only four Powers, the United States, Great Britain, France and Germany, and the agreement was to make a joint loan to China of £6,000,000, for the construction of the Hukuang Railway. Later other Powers saw the advantage of such coöperation, and Japan and Russia asked to be taken into the Consortium. As the Hukuang Railway was never built, except a small section between Hupeh and Hunan, and the conflicting interests of the members of the Consortium prevented it from carrying out any constructive plan, the United States later dropped out and only five members were left. No new loan was made to China, and it was practically dissolved when the European War broke out.

The achievement of the New Consortium of 1921 was not

any greater in the positive direction, but it produced a useful negative result—namely, it prevented free lending on the part of any of the Powers to China, whether for railway construction or general Government loans. This has lasted a few years, but unless China be satisfied with the present inadequate system of communications, or can raise among her own people the capital to construct all the necessary lines, foreign loans must be had sooner or later. The former condition is out of question, and the latter is equally impossible because so far native capital has not been abundant enough so that a portion of it may be sunk in some such permanent form of investment. Borrowing from abroad is the only way to solve this problem.

The Chinese people want more railways, and we welcome foreign financial coöperation in this line. But we cannot agree to certain terms which the foreign lenders bring up. Our plan therefore is to postpone the borrowing until the national credit is improved and loans may be obtained on more agreeable terms. Meanwhile, there is much to do in the construction of highways which will feed the existing railroads as well as help develop those regions which will later be traversed by new railways. Many motor roads have already been built, and regular bus services on them have been established. These sometimes serve also as extensions of railways. For instance, the Peking-Suiyuan railway has been extended twice, and now it reaches Paotow, and as there is not enough capital to extend it further, while easy communication with Ningsia is urgently desired, a motor road is now being built to connect Paotow with the latter city. This is of course only a temporary measure, for the need of railways in China is an indisputable question. According to the latest official statistics of 1924, there are altogether 10,390 miles of railway track in China, which means only one mile of railway for every 425 square miles of territory, or every 44,000 population. It needs no deep thinking to see that this mileage is entirely insufficient.

Foreign financial coöperation in Chinese railway construction is similar in nature to financing private industries, if it be deprived of its political significance. Although it means loans to the Chinese Government, it could be made a pure business deal. The foreign capitalists then invest because principal and interest payments are certain; and they could be certain if both parties are interested in railway construction as a business proposition, not to be interfered with by political reasons, and the loan itself not to be diverted to other channels. When conditions here and abroad become more favorable in the future, coöperation along such lines would be possible.

INDUSTRIAL FINANCE

The above statement applies both to Government railways and private business. At present foreigners establish factories in a limited number of Chinese treaty ports and invest their capital there. They can not do business outside these ports, nor will they invest in Chinese factories. The former is due to treaty stipulations, the latter, their lack of confidence in modern Chinese mills. Hence there is not much that may be really called coöperation in this line. Of course, the Chinese are also responsible for it to a certain extent. We have only recently adopted the Western method of incorporation, and the laws and practices governing such mat-

ters, including in particular the procedure of investing in private corporations, are not yet well established. Would-be foreign investors hesitate under such circumstances to risk their capital in Chinese business propositions. It will still take a number of years before Chinese industrial stocks and bonds will be accepted by Western capitalists.

In an indirect way, however, foreign capital plays an important part in Chinese industries, mainly those which produce for the foreign market. Exporters in China are mostly foreign firms, located in the treaty ports, and they often advance money to small Chinese producers on goods made to their order. In some cases, as the fur trade of Suanhwa, the exporters send their agents to the manufacturing district to order the goods directly; in others, they go through Chinese dealers. In the latter case, the dealers are financed by native banks which in turn obtain financial coöperation from foreign banks in the form of *chop* (short term) loans. The Chinese people have large deposits in these foreign banks, and the *chop* (short term) loans cannot therefore be considered as foreign capital entirely, yet they are so to some extent. Foreign banks and firms in China also loan to Chinese companies directly for short periods.

The value of imports into China has always exceeded that of exports. This might have been explained by the contraction of foreign loans by the Government in former years, but in recent years no such loans have been made. The discrepancy must therefore be made up either through remittances by Chinese merchants abroad, which could not be very large, or foreign investments in Chinese business. The latter must now be considered the principal factor in balancing the trade relations between China and foreign countries. In 1924 the value of imports exceeded that of exports by \$185,700,000 gold, and this indicates the importance of foreign financial coöperation in this line.

China has vast industrial resources, but not enough industrial capital to develop them, and that is the principal argument for foreign financial coöperation in this line. The lack of native capital may be judged from many things, but the most apparent one is the high interest rate. In the cities where modern banks and stock exchanges exist, the rate on loans to individuals is from 8 per cent upwards. Industrial investments are considered not profitable unless they yield over 15 per cent, although some of the best Government securities yield only 7 per cent. In the interior where bank facilities are lacking, usurers are able to charge from 60 per cent to 100 per cent on unsecured loans. These facts lead to many conclusions. They indicate in the first place the insufficiency of native capital for industrial and commercial purposes, especially the former. They also show that the conditions in the places of very high interest rates are exaggerated because of lack of banking facilities, and not entirely of capital itself, which is borne out by another fact—namely, people with savings in such localities who despise usury practices are often compelled to keep their money in hoarding or deposit it with firms for very nominal returns. The cities represent the general conditions in the whole country more truthfully, and the preference shown to Government bonds indicates the trend of investment of native capital.

If China's economic development is allowed to take a natural course, and is not handicapped by foreign capitalistic

exploitation on the one hand, or communistic interferences on the other, better banking facilities may draw forth more native capital to finance industries and trade. However that may be, the need of foreign coöperation in such lines would be no less urgent. Until the industries are fully developed, there could not be sufficient native capital for long term investments, and financing industries involves such investments. This may appear to be arguing in a circle, but it is really true. Before the modern industrial era dawned in China, she had enough capital for her handicrafts and domestic trade and the country prospered. Suddenly came a demand for industrial capital to build and run modern factories, and it could not be adequately met with the existing savings of the nation. During the war boom, the attraction of industrial investment was so great that people put every cent they could spare in industrial plants and machinery, but soon they found the mills too slow to bring in returns to keep the plants going. Some of them obtained temporary advances from foreign banks and firms for current capital, at very high rates, but most of the new mills that came into existence in the mushroom growth went into bankruptcy. These are symptoms of ordinary business cycles, yet they also show to China the possibility of avoiding such short-lived booms with foreign financial help.

The Chinese do not mean to depend on foreign coöperation in the development of industries and communications of their country. We expect to increase the available quantity of native capital by having more and better banks, savings societies and insurance companies, stock and produce exchanges, and the development of rural credit. At the same time, if there is surplus foreign capital ready to invest elsewhere, we would like to attract it by regular business methods. Coöperation must be mutually beneficial, and devoid of all political significance. We desire foreign financial coöperation only on such a basis.

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"Civilized People Revealed"—A Chinese conception of the Nordics.
—From *Eastern Miscellany*, Commercial Press, Shanghai.

Labor's Part in the New Nationalism

TA CHEN

IN indicating labor's influence upon the growth of nationalism in China today, special attention should be paid to the incident of May 30, 1925, for that event has really opened a new chapter in the history of the Chinese labor movement. It has called the public's attention to the misery and oppression of the proletariat and has created a nationwide social consciousness which is essential toward building a new and vigorous Republic.

From the first strike in the International Settlement in Shanghai to the later developments all over the country, labor's share in the movement has been of increasing importance. In fact the initial trouble was due to a labor dispute in Shanghai which resulted in the killing of a Chinese workman at a Japanese cotton mill. Protesting against this wanton cruelty, both the workers and the students in the city joined hands in a demonstration. Instead of attempting to understand their viewpoint so as to affect an adequate adjustment, the Municipal Council, which is dominated by British representation, tried to disperse the angry crowd by coercive suppression. Its police gave command to fire upon the unarmed paraders, resulting in the killing and wounding of a number of students, laborers and others. Public indignation was immediately aroused, and the strike soon spread to other cities. In order to show labor's part in the general movement, it is necessary to analyze the strike and point out its chief bearings upon the rapid development of the national spirit.

In the first place, the strike is neither anti-foreign nor anti-Christian for the obvious reason that a number of foreign enterprises and missionary institutions in the country have never been molested. A certain amount of propagandist literature is being circulated in China, but this does not represent the sane opinion of the country. The alleged anti-foreign and anti-Christian spirit is evidently a calculated misrepresentation on the part of the interested few.

On the other hand, the strike has a quite definite objective. It is clearly anti-British and anti-Japanese. It is against those elements among the British and Japanese who are friends of economic imperialism. The Chinese workers have adopted different methods of treatment towards British and Japanese employers and business men. Employers of liberal outlook of both nations have enjoyed relatively more freedom than those who indulge in sharp practices and unfriendly attitudes towards the workers.

It may now be questioned: why is the strike directed particularly against British and Japanese imperialists? There are both remote and immediate causes. England fought and won the Opium War, resulting in the legalization of the opium trade which has deteriorated a considerable portion of the Chinese race physically and morally. She has occupied about 28% of the spheres of interest in China. She has the largest share in the import and export trade with China and is economically the most aggressive nation. Japan wrested the famous twenty-one demands from China.

She is China's blood cousin and knows most intimately the idiosyncrasies and weaknesses of the Chinese people and is feared by them as the most dangerous enemy nation. Among the immediate causes should be mentioned the inhumane treatment of Chinese laborers by Japanese business men. The case of the ruthless killing of a Chinese worker at a Japanese cotton factory has already been referred to. Among the British concerns ill-treatment and oppression are also common. Many British enterprises in China are dominated numerically by Chinese employees. Excepting a few top men who are British subjects, the rest of the staff are usually Chinese who work long hours and receive insignificant pay. Not infrequently, a young clerk of a British company in England will be invited to fill up a vacancy in a British firm in China under whom there may be a dozen Chinese who have long been connected with the firm and are thus well acquainted with the job, but who are denied promotion. Grievances of this kind have been innumerable. In recent years as Chinese labor in certain occupations has become better organized, their discontent and dissatisfaction are sometimes made known through the strike or other effective ways.

Secondly, the present strike differs from former labor disputes in several important aspects. This time the strike is nation-wide and is participated in by all classes of people. For many years, certain elements of the intelligentsia have entertained the fear that the one foreign nation which has most seriously hindered China's normal development is perhaps Great Britain. Recently, this fear is shared by other groups in the nation as well, including merchants and laborers who have close contact with the British and have specific grievances against them. The former have suffered mainly because of the lack of capital and organization among themselves and also the unfair practices of the British traders, such as British banks' refusal to accept the bills of lading of Chinese shipping companies. The latter have suffered chiefly on account of their unpleasant experiences with the British employers in the factories and commercial establishments. So when the Shanghai police ruthlessly murdered the innocent young Chinese, the entire nation rose to its feet for an indignant protest.

Thirdly, certain features of the strike are especially noteworthy, such as the preservation of order, the abstinence from violence, group solidarity and the maintenance of the strike. Thus far, many strikes in various cities have been carried on in good order and peaceful manner. Little violence has been committed. This is commendable, for the Chinese workers are generally organized in a very loose way, and except for certain trade instruction and guild tradition they are not accustomed to observe order. In addition, the workers have been quite firm in their stand. Various cases have been reported, where foreign employers attempted to offer substantial inducements for the resumption of work but were turned down by the strikers. It is cour-

ageous for the workers to do this, for in many cases they were actually facing starvation and yet they had the determination to maintain the strike to the end. In a number of industries in different cities the strike has lasted over two months. This is no easy task considering the fact that many unions have no strike funds and must depend upon voluntary contributions for its maintenance. In all these respects it is fair to state that the strikers are aiming at a definite goal and cannot be persuaded, betrayed or coerced by outside influences. In the present situation, the nation is moving as an undivided whole. For this action the Chinese workmen deserve high respect, because to many of them it means hardship, privation and misery to be out of work so long. Several good qualities have been revealed in this movement including courage, perseverance and co-operation which are essential to the sound citizenship of the nation.

Fourthly, the economic and social consequences of the strike should also be considered. A large number of industries have been seriously affected, including shipping, cotton spinning and weaving, printing and publishing, silk filatures, knitting and tobacco. Much of the coast-wise and river navigation is in the hands of the British and Japanese and principally of the former. Knitting is mainly Japanese and tobacco mainly British. But in the other industries above listed, the Chinese particularly have suffered heavy losses. However, the Chinese business men have publicly declared that they are willing to lose large sums of money rather than to see their fellow-countrymen suffer under foreign tyranny. They are fighting, so to speak, to preserve the soul of the nation. In this they have been partially successful, for there are signs that the foreigners in China have gradually come to see the viewpoint of the Chinese. Thus, on August 21, at a joint meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce of Shanghai and the Shanghai branch of the China Association, resolutions were adopted that the meeting "publicly declares itself in favor of prompt action being taken to give effect to the decisions of the Washington Conference and of the adoption by the representatives of the various governments concerned of a point of view sympathetic towards the suggestions which China may have to make in regard to the application of those decisions; and that it also gives public expression to its support of the principle of direct Chinese representation on the Municipal Council of the International Settlement and of Rendition of the Mixed Court, and to its hope that the negotiations which it understands are now proceeding in Peking on these questions will be brought at an early date to an issue satisfactory to all parties." On the part of the Chinese Government, four departments have been considering the draft of national laws governing labor unions, which when promulgated will enable the labor organizations to strive for a better social order in the near future. In addition, there is a general feeling in China today that labor is becoming articulate and that the laboring classes must be justly treated in order to ensure social stability and progress in the country.

These, then, are some of the outstanding contributions of Chinese labor toward an effective expression of the new national spirit. But mistakes are also numerous. First of all, the general strike is chiefly an ill-organized and ill-

directed movement. Few labor leaders in the country have the necessary knowledge and experience in organizing labor unions, directing strikes and adjusting disputes. Many of their acts are emotional and sentimental. Some of the foolish events are the rapid increase of strikes in Chinese industries and the forced elevation of the cost of living among the workers. This means crippling Chinese industry on the one hand and paves the way for extended social unrest on the other.

Then, too, the indiscriminatory boycott against the goods of the British and the Japanese is fundamentally unwise. Certain foreign commodities are essential to the educational or social needs of the Chinese people and should be allowed to come into the country freely. A temporary measure against the importation of some lines of foreign goods may be justified under certain circumstances such as the prohibition of cotton yarn and piece goods from England and Japan in order to give the infant Chinese cotton industry a fair start. But instead of doing this, the boycott has been a frenzied effort to prohibit the buying and selling of all foreign goods of British and Japanese origin. This is purely sentimental.

But the most serious objection to the present strike lies in the fact that it gives an opportunity for the rapid spread of Bolshevik propaganda. It is not accurate to say that the strike was instigated by Bolshevik agents, for if the Chinese had red blood in their veins they should have revolted and they needed nobody's instigation. But the Bolshevik agents have made good use of the situation to popularize their theory and practice among the rank and file of labor. Canton, the stronghold of Communism, is confronted with political disunion and social disintegration. In Shanghai, labor has divided itself into three groups. The first wants itself affiliated with politics in order to improve the conditions of the workers. The second insists upon a purely independent labor movement emphasizing the economic and social phases. The third is quite friendly to Bolshevism. At present the last group is the most disquieting element in the city.

THE DARK AND BRIGHT SIDES

Thus far, two phases of the Chinese labor movement have been briefly sketched. On the dark side, Chinese labor has somehow aggravated the present social chaos by the increase in disputes and strikes, and also by a tendency toward radicalism. However, both do not seem to be serious problems. Social unrest in China today seems a necessary maladjustment consequent upon the transition from the old to the new social order, and its evil influence will surely diminish as soon as conditions become more settled. Also radicalism is not likely to gain permanent influence in Chinese society, for even in the 11th century features of State Communism were tried out in the economic program of Wong An-shih and were proven a disastrous failure. Therefore radical propaganda today rarely commends itself to a patient hearing by the conservative Chinese. The intellectual classes are also doubting whether there is need for the immediate redistribution of wealth and other drastic measures as advocated by communistic agitators.

On the brighter side of Chinese labor, the main hope lies in the growing sentiment of class consciousness and group

organization among the workers. Gradually the Chinese laborers have come to realize the superiority of the modern labor union over the antiquated gild system for collective bargaining and organized opposition to economic exploitation. In Canton alone, about 180 unions comprising about 80,000 workers are organized into a general federation of labor. Up to recently, the federation of labor unions of Shanghai had a membership of about 30 prosperous labor organizations of the city. In a general way the unionization movement is being spread to important commercial and industrial centers of China, and is particularly strong in railway transportation, steam navigation, postal service, telephone and telegraph, and the textile industries. Many worthwhile results have already been gained. The organized workers have generally been successful in their strike for

wage increase to meet the rising cost of living. They have been generally successful in refusing unjust taxes from the militarists and municipal authorities. The forward-looking workmen are receiving certain elementary education either at the expense of their employers or by the financial support of their labor organizations. It is not uncommon to see the workers of industrial establishments going to take lessons in the evening schools on simplified Chinese, arithmetic and personal hygiene. In several aspects, the labor movement is influencing and is being influenced by such constructive social forces as mass education, organized social work and citizenship training movement. The organization of the workers under proper guidance and intelligent leadership will undoubtedly ameliorate the living conditions of the proletariat and promote social cohesion and progress.

The Youth Movement in China

T. L. SHEN

AS in other countries, the youth in China are in a state of general unrest and craving for better things, apart from the different tendencies to organize themselves into various bodies, which is only an incidental outcome of the China Renaissance. Therefore the youth movement of China prevails in consciousness, in thought and in spirit, is expressed in various ways, and is a part of the larger trend that characterizes the youth of the twentieth century. One must first of all appreciate the position of youth in this country. From the teachings of the sages, the Chinese people have established a sort of social prestige of age. So the business of youth has always been to obey the elders, and that has proved to be an effective means for the conservation and transmission of the cultural heritage. However, with the coming of a new era, that emphasis is no longer laid on youth. The day of veneration is gradually turned over to the day of growth and adventure. As we see this change taking place, we should consider the following factors.

While tradition teaches Chinese people to revere the aged, it also emphasizes the value of youth. A great deal of Chinese literature has been written on "youth" as the most enviable, hopeful and promising element of the day. So when the Western idea of the importance of youth came, it was only a reinforcement to what was already at home, remaining to be increasingly stressed. Furthermore, Chinese society always offered immense opportunities for the learned. An honored gentleman was always a well-known scholar. The youth period was considered great, for its opportunities of education. Now with the introduction of the system of universal education, youth are even more blessed, regardless of their class and standing. A third consideration is that the youth of China, though often taught to be humble, were trained for positions of ambitious leadership whenever such training was available. In the past, official callings were almost the only line of service that young men strove to enter. But the development of science, industry and a democratic system of government now calls for men of different training and equipment to

get into all kinds of more technical and specialized walks of life. This new need for leadership is becoming more and more imperative and is a great challenge to the youth of this generation for consecration and adventure.

It is true that the youth of China see above everything else the unique transitory period in which they find their beloved country. They see this change going on at almost every instant. Not only do they want to adapt themselves to the new situation but actually they are leading this movement for the realization of a new China. In doing this they find two big questions confronting them. First is the problem of industrialism. Do they want material civilization, which in the West has become almost an end in itself? Does that adequately meet the needs of an agricultural people with the arts and refinements of many centuries? Second is the problem of nationalism. Do they want cultural domination, supported by force? Does that sufficiently meet the needs of a peace-loving people who have taught and practiced tolerance and patience since their childhood? After all the Chinese youth, although under the stimulating influence of a new world, wish to see the salvation of their nation come about through her own way, and resent whatever they consider to be foreign imposition, which leaves her neither chance nor room to experiment.

These are some of the factors in the present situation and coupled with the background and favored position of youth in the national life, have to do with the beginning and spread of renaissance among the youth of China.

This so-called youth movement in China is really a fresh way to save the country and to build a new civilization. It has unlimited resources and infinite possibilities. Although oftentimes it has been inspired and directed by mature sources, as it must be, it has never lost the initiative and energy of youthful leadership. History shows that from time to time this movement has expressed itself in various critical moments and time will witness its increasing significance in the lives of individuals as well as the nation.

To dwell on some phases of the China Renaissance, in relation to youth, we should first come to the Independence

Movement. The overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty was not a mere incident, but it came about after a long period of preparation when the discovery and training of youth leadership and participation was more than ever emphasized. To look back a few decades, the colleagues of Dr. Sun Yat Sen were but fellow schoolmates. As they got the vision of a new China and worked together with their avowed purpose to emancipate the people from monarchical tyranny, the revolution was thus initiated. Then the so-called Kuomintang¹ was organized after the Republic was established. It has been ever since absorbing a large number of youthful elements. And the striking thing is that after Dr. Sun's death, his famous "San Ming Doctrine¹," with his parting words of encouragement, is remembered throughout the rank and file of the student population in China. There is already developing a strong voice, though sometimes it may seem vague as young China demands freedom from military force and foreign exploitation. We must also consider the communists, only a minority of the Kuomintang Party with limited influence, who are also working among youth. The youth of China find it necessary to fight against aggressive capitalism and its governmental support because what they seek is the independence of human life from such limitations.

Second is the Student Patriotic Movement. In the year 1919, as a protest against the Twenty-one Demands of Japan and against weak governmental diplomacy, a general student strike was effected all over the country, and was reenforced by the merchants and other classes. This was the first successful effort to unite the Chinese people and to direct the policy of the government against foreign aggression. The fostering of mass education and the creation of a strong public opinion were emphasized. The most noticeable result was, of course, the realization of the latent power of the people to organize nationally, and the subsequent bringing into being of all kinds of social and political organizations of a voluntary nature. Since then Chinese students have banded themselves together in a unique patriotic movement, with local units all over the country and a national organization for its united expression. National conventions have been held each year. At one of its recent meetings a manifesto was drawn up to advise a nation-wide movement for the abolition of all foreign rights over the customs tariff, consular jurisdiction and the educational work supported and controlled by foreigners.

Third is the Anti-Imperialistic Movement. The recent activities of the Independence and Patriotic Movements among youth prepared their minds to undertake something more aggressive. To cope with the recent general feeling of resentment against military and foreign influence, the Anti-Imperialistic sentiment is spreading rapidly among youth. In the strategic educational centers, the Anti-Imperialistic Federation is organized. Its objective is twofold: namely, the union of the exploited against aggression and the abolition of all unequal treaties with foreign powers. Kindled and stimulated by this movement is the Anti-Christian Movement, also started from student circles. It dates back to 1922 when a contemporary student effort was

made against the World's Student Christian Federation Conference called to meet at Peking. The charges now made against Christianity concern its alliance with imperialism and its foreign exploitation. This Anti-Christian movement, through various literary organs, has a generous and wide participation and hearing from youth in most parts of China.

Basic to and responsible for the above-mentioned movements is the continuous influence of the New Thought Movement. This is a deeper and more permanent pursuit for the general uplift of young China. It has attracted and enlisted the more mature minds of the present generation of Chinese youth. It has first discovered the new way of assimilation and adaptation of the good things in all the cultures of the world, as over against the practice of blind copying or foolish denial. It was through this movement that the strategy of intellectual leadership was made greatly manifest. The importance of learning and the value of literature as a means of propagating ideas and ideals have been emphasized. Among the fruitful results of this movement is the formation of the Young China Society by a group of young men. From the beginning the society has stood for a scientific attitude, a progressive spirit and sacrificial living. There have been also a number of annual conventions, and resolutions announced after its recent gathering in 1923 point towards developing a strong national consciousness in China.

The significance of the general Renaissance of Chinese youth, common to all phases of its expression, has been marked in three ways. First it represents the youth spirit in evolution. Young China is critical toward the past yet she is equally dissatisfied with the present social, political and international order. It is true that many students are critically studying the economic theories of the West; some simply get a number of catch-words and begin to talk about them. It is most unscientific to charge the student body with being used as tools of Bolshevik propaganda, just as it is unfair for a radical student to consider all foreigners as tools of imperialism. For do we not see that the surgings of thoughtful adventure of action amongst youth are universal and are not only characteristic of Russia and India, but perhaps even more so of the Western hemisphere?

Second, the Renaissance represents the service motive in action. The youth of China are no longer contented to uphold the superior position of scholars over other classes of people and to see their less fortunate brethren in poverty, ignorance, and unhealthy conditions of life. Out of their altruistic love for their unprivileged fellows, they are taking an increased part in mass education, industrial and rural work, etc. It is the same spirit which prevails among youth of other nations. It is the spirit which led to the emancipation of the American Negroes, the spirit which helped to make the European Student Relief a success.

Third, the Renaissance also represents the national consciousness in expression. The Chinese youth, having struggled and succeeded in transcending the barriers of family and tribe, soon find themselves circumscribed in a larger sphere of the nation. The history of the past two hundred years teaches that many a time the very existence of China's national life has been threatened. Every political, commercial, or religious influence that is brought to bear

¹Dr. Sun formed the Kuomintang or People's Party and his triple phrase about the, "Economic, Racial and Political Rights of the People," or the San Ming Doctrine, has become the party slogan.

on China is supported by the foreign powers. As a result of unequal treaties that China was forced to conclude with other nations, she has lost many of her sovereign rights. It is easy to see why youth, who are wide awake and up against these problems, should express themselves in a nationalistic movement. However, the average student is not at all anti-foreign; he is one who believes that world brotherhood, or to use a familiar Chinese phrase, "Under heaven one family," cannot be realized unless racial and international inequality, the root of war and hatred, is done away with. It is but another phase of the post-war situation which we find among students everywhere, particularly of Europe, and which is leading them to such interest in international problems.

Grown out of the general Renaissance and parallel to the other movements is a student Christian movement in

which thirty thousand students are now engaged. It does not differ from the other movements in their purpose to build a new nation and a new world. It rather seeks to help other movements by keeping them on the right track. In the spirit of this new vision, there grows a new consciousness,—a consciousness that youth must assume large responsibility for Christ—a conviction that there are more reasons for Christians than for ordinary citizens to stand for the principles of justice, righteousness, and the ultra value of human life—the things which Jesus stood for, and to live up to these standards, under whatever circumstances. The Christian youth of China wish to testify to the practicability of Christianity—to show their belief that love is the only way of life and should be a universal standard for the entire human race.

Force in Chinese Philosophy

ARTHUR W. HUMMEL

THE extent to which a nation is being militarized can be ascertained not merely from a study of the ideas that move her now but by an examination of the ideas and ideals that have affected her most in the course of a long history. One of these ancient governing ideas in Chinese life is expressed by the word *li* which may be variously rendered by the English words: dignity, decorum, tact, and consideration for the feelings of others. *Li* represents the spirit of Chinese civilization in some such way as the word *bushido* represents the spirit of Japan, though the two are by no means synonymous. It implies respect for personality, moderation, and self-restraint refraining from pushing even the best issue to an ultimate, brutal conclusion if by so doing the rights of personality must be trampled upon. A Chinese maxim says, "Let your conduct be square within and round without"; that is to say, cultivate an inner life of rectitude and an outer life free from the angularities that mar human intercourse.

I believe it was Burke who said that "manners have ever been more important than laws." If so, he was simply expressing a deep-felt Chinese conviction that form is as important as substance; "roundness without" as important as "squareness within"; *how* a thing is done, as important as *what* is done. However just and right an act may be, the effect of that act can be entirely ruined by the manner in which it is carried out. More important even than getting things done is to get them done without trampling on the self-respect of others. Persons, in other words, are more important than things. And the chief aim of education should be to teach people how to conserve the rights of personality and how to get along with each other.

The Chinese have for millenniums advocated a theory which Westerners have never regarded seriously, but which is thoroughly in accord with the findings of modern psychology: that outward bearing has a reflex influence on the inner life. The too-prevalent Western idea that if one's heart is right, one's manners will take care of themselves is one which I believe most Chinese would find difficult to

accept. To their minds a slovenly bearing necessarily connotes a disjointed and slovenly life within. In the famous letter which the well-known Chinese official, Lin Tse-slü, wrote to Queen Victoria in 1839, he says, "Ever since the present dynasty was established its aim has been to regulate manners and customs with the view of rectifying the heart of man." To the man of the West this emphasis on correct behavior verges entirely too near the hypocritical and the unreal. He does not realize, however, that Western brusqueness is quite as offensive to an Easterner as Eastern obliqueness is to a man of the West. That is what the Chinese school-girl meant when she said to the missionary, "You have the Christian virtues, but we have the Christian graces"; implying, of course, that one is not truly Christian until he has both the virtues and the graces.

Discourtesy seems to be an inseparable part of the military system, hence we find that tactless treatment lies at the basis of most of the controversies that China has had with the "powers" during the last one hundred years. The Chinese are accustomed to negotiation and compromise, but they are not accustomed to table-thumpings and ultimatums, or arrogations by one party of judgments that belong only to the Almighty. The louder the talking and the greater the display of force the more suspicious they become that the case must be inherently weak. "He who is in the right," says their proverb, "does not need to speak in a loud voice, for no matter how lofty the mountains are they can never obscure the sun."

The Shanghai incident of May 30th was handled from the beginning with the same tactlessness that has characterized such negotiations in the past. One prompt expression of regret by the Shanghai Municipal Council, without committing it in any way to a definite mode of procedure, would have done wonders to reassure the Chinese people and make subsequent negotiations easy. This is the course which the Chinese government actually pursued when a few days later a Japanese was killed in Hankow. But instead, they were confronted with the sublime but unconvincing

assumption that the Western penal system invariably metes out even-handed justice, if for no other reason than because it is Western. The military-minded must not "back down" or "show weakness"; for is it not true that a "strong policy" is necessary to maintain the white man's "prestige" in the Far East? As though prestige can ever be lost by doing what is right, or maintained by doing what is wrong! "If one is in the right," says another proverb, "one may confidently bring a charge against the Emperor; if not, how would one dare to whip even his own grandson?"

The Chinese have always recognized two kinds of restraints in government: the restraints of *li* and the restraints of law, but there has never been any doubt in their minds as to which is superior. The end and aim of the Confucian system was to train a people to be thoroughly self-governing; not in a political but in a moral and social sense; that is to say, a people governed by *li* rather than by law; a people whose restraints are inner and not outer, moral and not legal. That is why the legal profession has hitherto had so little place in China, and why resort to litigation is still regarded as unnecessary and therefore humiliating. For what does the law care for personality, for extenuating circumstances, for the give and take that the Chinese regard as important to smooth social intercourse?

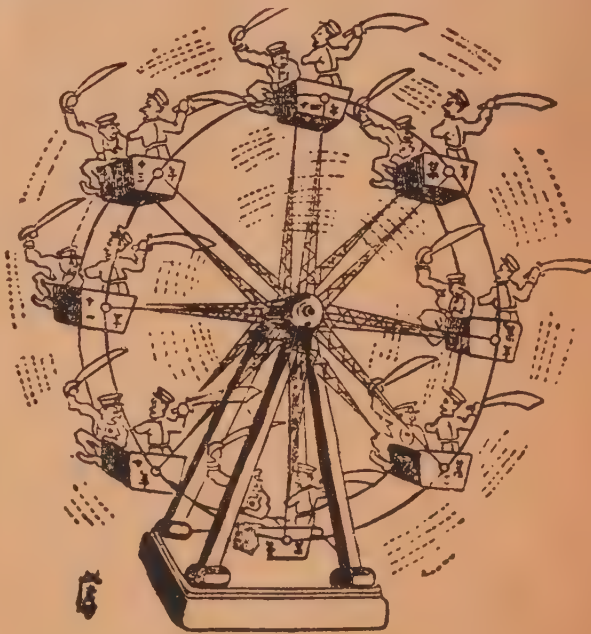
Until the introduction of modern political ideas the Confucian idea of *li* was expected to work as well in the conduct of government as in the organization of the family and the behavior of the individual; the state being regarded merely as an extension of the family, the same principle operating in both. However poorly the ideal of government by *li* may have worked out in practice the Chinese philosophers never gave up the theory that ideal government is that which appeals, not to law nor to force, but to individual self-respect and to mutual accommodation. "No other people," says Mr. Wells, "have ever approached moral order and social stability through the channel of manners. No other nation has such a tradition of decorum and self-respect."

It does not require elaborate argument to show that present tendencies in China are mostly in the direction of making the country "strong" in the sense that the nations of Europe regard themselves as strong. In that sense China has always been weak. Her philosophers had taught her that nations become strong, not by killing off their enemies, but by bearing with them, coming to terms with them, and finally civilizing them. They believed in the convertibility of man; in the essential goodness of human nature. But their contacts with the West have not tended to confirm the people in the truth of these ancient theories; some are indeed beginning to wonder whether the philosophers were not mistaken after all. It may prove to be true that man is totally depraved and that the Kingdom of Heaven can be ushered in only by violence. At any rate their dilemma is very clear: if a nation is weak, she is despised; if she is strong, she is feared. Whether it is better to be feared than despised is now the question. To inspire fear is not in accord with a morality of self-respecting men, but if harassed too much they may in the end resort to it. As the saying goes, "If you press a dog too hard, he will jump the wall; if you harass a people too much, they will start a revolution."

Before the Shanghai incident there was a growing anti-

militaristic movement among the merchant and student classes. Many magazines issued special editions advocating a "No More War" policy, and native moving-picture houses took up the same slogan. The war-lords were beginning to feel uncomfortable, and the idea of the forcible unification of the country was growing decidedly unpopular. But since May 30th this agitation has ceased. A manifesto issued by professors of the National University went so far as to advocate the forcible occupation of the Shanghai settlement by Chinese troops, and not a few university students joined the newly organized summer military encampments. These were much featured in the daily press since it was regarded as quite an innovation for students to "drop the pen and take up the sword." The papers began to show a distinctly militant tone, employing a terminology very familiar to Westerners. For such Bismarckian phrases as "blood and iron policy" the Chinese language now has exact and literal equivalents.

Previous to the abolition of the examination system in 1907 no one thought of teaching military drill in the public schools, but today such instruction is common in all schools whether under government or mission control. Under the old system the rank of the soldier was inferior to that of the civilian. Civil officials always enjoyed the place of honor on the emperor's left. They had the privilege of entering the palace precincts through the eastern gate whereas the military entered by the west gate, which in Chinese ceremonial usage is associated with the emperor's right. The strangle-hold which the warlords now have on China could never have been obtained if there had not been for years past the threat of interference from without, and a growing sentiment within for restraining China's numerous "friends with taking ways."



歲把會這足部去轉來轉

"The Same Old Trick Each Year"—A Chinese view of the incessant disturbances caused by the military leaders.

—From *Eastern Miscellany*, Commercial Press, Shanghai.

Before a people become militarized they first become nationalized. That step China has already taken, though that step too is not very congenial to the Chinese nature; for loyalty to the government or to the nation as such is not the force that has hitherto kept China intact, nor the thing in which her people have taken most pride. Rather it was loyalty to a great and immemorial culture, which is after all a bigger and more tolerant loyalty than a purely national allegiance can ever be.

Naturally the older Chinese look upon this reversal of ancient standards as a distinctly backward step, but the present student generation hails it as the only hope of emancipating the country from alien domination. Not that they relish the newer ways any more than their elders; but they are content, for a time at least, to play the game of their opponents if that is the only way to put them to rout; which confirms again the principle that Mr. Shaw enunciated during the World War, that belligerents tend to take on each other's characteristics.

There is pathos in the spectacle of a great nation that has

preached for centuries the doctrine of humane, non-violent, and reasonable human intercourse, being compelled in the twentieth century by so-called Christian nations, to order her life on principles which she knows to be inferior, but which she is powerless to change. The oldest, the most populous, and what Dean Inge calls "the best-balanced civilization in the world" is not permitted respite until she has patterned her life after the manner of the petulant, the machine-driven, and the pugnacious peoples of the West. Yet these very peoples need to strive for nothing so much as the kind of civilization at which Chinese thinkers have aimed,—a civilization that "broadens men by culture and restrains men by reverence." Perhaps if China continues to hold out for the best in her ancient ideals, and, in the words of the great Mencius, "refuses to bend to the menace of power and force," she may yet unite with the liberal forces working toward similar ends in the West, and thus not only save her own soul, but help to lift the thought of the West from sordid political and military considerations to humane and cultural ends.

Is Chinese Culture a World Concern?

T. C. CHAO

MAN nowadays cannot feel complaisant with the culture of his own nation or race alone without embracing more or less a cultural synthesis of interracial nature. The love of life must include in it that in which life is realized. The Chinese has always been proud of his own culture which he likes to share with others, not indeed through propaganda but through the willing acceptance of those that come in contact with him. Thus, for instance, Japan and Korea had learned from China. And it is a mistake to think that when convinced of the importance of other cultures the Chinese is still unwilling to learn and incorporate new elements into his thoughts and activities. In the past, even as early as the Han and Tang Dynasties, the Chinese went to the West beyond his own borders and studied in India in spite of untold difficulties, in order to get Buddhism, to acquire a religion and a philosophy which China did not possess. He does not imitate, however, but tries to understand, assimilate, and transform to suit his own self-realization. In modern times Chinese prejudices have been abandoned through painful experiences and the Chinese, seeing that the West has wonders in store for his own re-creation, begins a period of diligent learning, little concerned with what the new cultural synthesis thus set in process may become.

PERMANENT ELEMENTS OF CHINESE CULTURE

While the Chinese is passionately learning from the West, he does not neglect his inherited past. For him, in the first place, the ideographic language is a permanent achievement in spite of the failures of other picture languages. The usual objections against it do not hinder its development; for while radicals and strokes are more numerous than the letters of an alphabet, it is by no means more difficult for children to learn and write when properly taught. European ideas after all not so inseparable

from European languages, have been translated into Chinese by new combinations and coinage of characters. Instead of learning and using pure phonetics which carry neither sense nor beauty, the illiterate people are reading books written in one thousand common characters and the business circles are employing grass characters and even indigenous typewriters which give a measure of speed and efficiency and which though not perfectly satisfactory do not threaten the destruction of the life that the ideographics carry for the Chinese. Indeed this ideographic vessel has contained for thousands of years China's cultural treasures. And being analytical and flexible, it has become China's new national language which, retaining all the old symbols of beauty, will yet be elastic enough to retain also her new wine.

In the second place, Chinese art and literature wherein the soul of China reposes and whence it must take its rise for higher achievement, are of permanent value. Apart from these China cannot be understood and her future cannot have a sound foundation. History allows no break and the 3,500 officially recognized volumes of historical writings together with a vast amount of other types of literature will have to become significant for the new cultural synthesis now in process. Chinese love of nature, Chinese humanism, Chinese music, painting, architecture, all that Chinese institutions meant to conserve, cannot be understood apart from Chinese literature. All these indeed have taught the Chinese what to be and how to live, have produced abundantly rich lives in exceedingly poor surroundings and have inculcated in the Chinese mind a scale of values still instructive to us, in spite of the much-to-be-regretted fact that these did not lead to an improvement of the physical environment.

Finally, to be brief, the central thing in Chinese culture is China's moral philosophy which teaches on the one hand man's oneness with Nature and on the other hand, his own

realization in the life of the social group organized around the five ethical relations. Mo Tse's doctrine of universal love and mutual benefit, Confucius' ideas of benevolence and righteousness, and Lao Tse's teachings of the way of Nature, have nothing in them that smells of ethnocentrism and ethical dualism. From the rectification of the mind to the maintenance of the peace of the world, from the self-control of the individual to the regulation of all human life, the moral laws inherent both in Nature and in the human person hold good. The assertion of the superiority of reason to physical force; the dependence upon exemplary character and upon loyalty to great personalities; and the emphasis on utilitarian ethics rather than on abstract thought have made the Chinese what they are now. But all this contains visions of a thorough internationalism and a unified life of benevolence and love, not even excelled by the visions of the Christian religion.

A CONTRAST

However, the imperfect and insufficient nature of Chinese culture becomes more than evident in contrast with what the West has to offer. Mr. Liang Siu Ming in his well-known book, *The Cultures of East and West and Their Philosophies*, points out three ways of life characteristic respectively of the West, China, and India, namely, the forward march of progress which transforms the environment for man, the way of inner satisfaction through human adaptation to environment, and the backward retreat which solves obnoxious problems by their abolition altogether (pp. 53-54). The forward march leads the West to democracy and science and identifying the will to live with "the will to power" pushes the West to the course of political and industrial imperialism. The middle path which China takes, on the other hand, leads to inner organization of character which consequently becomes controlled, serene, tranquil, dignified, even in the face of physical adversities and absurdities. Such a contrast is sure to awaken the Chinese to the necessity of democracy and science and make him dissatisfied with existing conditions and institutions. He must therefore transvaluate all values. Just as in the past he was influenced by the Hindu attitude to life, the attitude of resignation and renunciation, he now attempts to become aggressive under the influence of the West. What this new determination may lead to no one is able to tell.

TENDENCIES IN LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

Believing that China must learn from the West and at the same time must have a thorough understanding of her own vast cultural inheritance, Chinese scholars have launched a comprehensive new culture movement. Not a few now devote themselves to the immense task of critically studying the classics, literature, and philosophy and of consistently viewing native learning in the right historical perspective in order to reduce the chaos of literary abundance to order. Among the numerous scholars who do this work of higher and lower criticism may be mentioned such names as Tsang Ping Lin, Liang Chi Chao, Chen Yuen, Hu Su, Liang Siu Ming, Ku Shih, Ku Chih Kang. All of them are making valuable contributions. In consequence of their endeavors a new appreciation of Chinese culture has been created. Educational institutions now place great emphasis on "the national learning." The large publishing houses are re-

printing and reproducing a vast amount of ancient literature. The four big libraries of over eight thousand books on classics, history, philosophy, and miscellaneous writings are being reprinted by the Commercial Press, while community and school libraries are growing with considerable rapidity and gathering together China's rich store of humanistic learning.

Another task of this new culture movement is that of introducing and interpreting the West to China. Many literary talents devote their energies to the work of translating scientific treatises, philosophies, poetry, and political literature; of creating poetry in the new national language; and of discoursing on science, politics, social and industrial problems; national and international affairs, on subjects extending from mathematics to theories of the state, from free love and birth control to popular education and scientific agriculture, from financed Bolshevism to new nationalism. Periodicals and books increase and increase until at present the amount of modern literature is more than sufficient to "cause ten thousand oxen to perspire and fill the spaces between hundreds of pillars." The voices of philosophers, scientists, reformers, dreamers and schemers, visionaries and revolutionaries, calamity howlers and good-for-nothings in other countries have their echoes in China. Between Chinese scholars and Western culture there is no longer any need of medium or mediators.

Naturally such an impact of the West upon China, at times, adds bewilderment to confusion. Throughout all these cultural activities, China seeks for an adequate philosophy of life. The controversy of science and philosophy about two years ago, in which a crowd of scholars participated, was really a fierce struggle between the theoretical conception of freedom and the mechanical view of nature, between metaphysical abstractions and scientific obsessions. Tremendously significant though this controversy was, Chinese Christians did not present the religious phase of the subject nor participate in it, on account of the lack of intellectual equipment and reinforcement. Since then, sustained philosophical discussions have been replaced apparently by the practical triumph of naturalism, rationalism, and nationalism that form the basis of Chinese thinking and acting today.

IS THE WORLD CONCERNED?

The impress of the West on China is tremendous; but is the world therefore concerned? It was not long ago that pigtailed, idol-worship, rat-eating and foot-binding summed up, to the Western mind, the contents of Chinese culture. It was but yesterday that friends of China sought to help her by substituting Western culture for Chinese barbarism. China, for her ailments, must swallow cultural pills in accordance with propagandist prescriptions. Those who are concerned merely with China's railroads, mines, loans, and their own spheres of influence, have of course little more than contempt for China's spiritual treasures. Chinese tea, porcelain, silk, embroidery, are vastly more interesting than the intangible things that may combine with Western science and democracy "for a great creation of man." Is the world concerned? Yes, Holland, Great Britain, Japan, *et cetera*, are proposing to follow the example of the United States and to return the Boxer Indemnity to China for cultural purposes. One wonders whether there is more politics in

THE LAST WORD

In which the Editors do not say it.

Floyd Dell Saves Us the Trouble

DEAR WORLD TOMORROW:

In your December issue my friend Paul Jordan-Smith concludes an interesting sketch of Upton Sinclair by suggesting that in order to become a still greater writer he needs "a course of systematic inebriety." Perhaps this is merely a joke; but it is repeated with immense seriousness in the next sentence: "Let him get drunk enough to laugh, give him a sound stomach, and the world's greatest living propagandist might well become a real novelist and a veritable Titan."

It was, if I am not mistaken, in the '90s of the last century that the idea became current that drunkenness was a practice to be conscientiously pursued by the artist for the benefit of his art. Drunkenness, to be sure, was not in itself regarded as a sufficient means for the cultivation of artistic genius to the flowering; a multiplicity of love affairs was held to be equally important; and such other helpful practices as not paying one's debts, having very bad manners, being disreputable in appearance, and behaving irresponsibly in all one's social relations, were also highly recommended. To follow this prescription dutifully might be painful, but then—one owed it to one's genius!

The genius theory of the '90s has almost been forgotten now, and in reviving it, Jordan-Smith considers, only to put aside, the idea that "what Sinclair needs is a love affair." His reason for excusing Sinclair from that duty is that he "lives happily with a charming and congenial wife." In the stern '90s, that excuse would not have been recognized as having the slightest validity. Is happiness to be permitted to stand in the way of the ruthless claims of genius, which as everyone knows (or used to know), is nourished upon misery, anxiety and headaches? But times have changed; writers do not seem to worry so much nowadays as to what is due to their genius. They tend to regard women and love as something else besides poultices for genius. They are permitted to strive to the best of their ability to be happy and to make others happy—which would have been in the '90s a ridiculous and astonishing idea. What! is a writer to behave like anybody else if he happens to feel like it? Yes, it seems so. Well, then, since there are ordinary people who do not get drunk, perhaps a writer may be permitted the same freedom.

FLOYD DELL

Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.

Mr. Sinclair to Mr. Jordan-Smith: A Copy

DEAR PAUL JORDAN-SMITH:

You are certainly a true Christian to treat me as you did in THE WORLD TOMORROW article, and heap so many coals of fire upon my head. When I think of all the outrageous things I have written to you about your books!

It must be that I really have the faults which you find in me, because my wife has underlined your sentences with a red pencil and stuck it up in the mirror where I have to go to shave every morning. She is very grateful to you for having rejected Frank Harris' suggestion that my only way of salvation lies through adultery! But alas, she is no better pleased with your alternative suggestion that I have to get drunk. Unfortunately I cannot try it because I am too busy supporting prohibition enforcement. Also I am at an age where I treat my liver and kidneys with respect.

I have still another suggestion. You come back into the Socialist movement instead of writing cynical and flippant ridicule of life, and that will give me a chance to rest for a while, and interest myself in poetry and music, as I did when I was young.

Pasadena, Cal.

(Signed) UPTON SINCLAIR.

the world or more culture. Even the Bolsheviks proceed to help China in her attempts at cultural synthesis by means of financed propaganda and imperialistic anti-imperialism. There is fortunately a change of attitude on the part of the West, that can be traced through the sense of superiority, contempt, ignorance, compassion, self-interest and political advantage to something of a creative insight. Significant questions are being asked. Christian educators in China, for instance, are raising the question of a creative cultural synthesis, saying: "Culture is no longer a heritage but an achievement. Can Christianity furnish the unifying principle for the necessary synthesis?" But the real crux of the matter is that even if Christianity can furnish such a principle, the world will have to decide whether it shall be operative or not.

Some Chinese Proverbs

THE carrying out of a kind feeling is sufficient to protect all within the four seas. By not doing so one may not be able to protect his own four limbs. (Mencius.)

The coat of mail and helmet are what give rise to war. A single general's reputation is made of ten thousand corpses.

However much in the right one may be, it is no good reasoning with a soldier.

It takes little time to administer a rebuke, but it takes a long time to forget it.

When you begin to quarrel about a matter, how do you know that you are not in the wrong?

By fighting you never get enough; by yielding, you get more than you expected.

To yield does not mean that I am weak, but that I am restraining myself, however others may rage.

The Inquiry into the Shanghai Shooting

THE Judicial Inquiry is now in progress. I have attended several sessions. There are three outstanding impressions. First, the absence of Chinese from the bench, the attorney's table, the witness box and even the audience is impressive. The Chinese feel that this inquiry is too late and that it is uncalled for in view of the unpublished report of the Commission sent down by the Legations in June. In the second place I am impressed by the thoroughness with which the court is probing into the facts. They seem bent on bringing out all the facts they can get hold of. The presiding judge is an American, Finley Johnson. Some of his questioning is gruelling.

My third impression is that the facts as presented by the representatives of the Council and the Police overwhelmingly condemn the police as using inexcusably drastic measures on the afternoon of May 30th.

It may be that the Council has facts up its sleeve as to the menace to the peace of the community which existed on and before May 30th. So far it has not come out. If no more comes out than has I cannot see how anything but a report condemnatory of the Council and its police can be possible. It will be interesting to observe the effect of such a report from a court composed entirely of foreigners.—

From a letter to Dr. Harry F. Ward, of the American Committee for Justice to China (70 Fifth Ave., New York) from Eugene E. Barnett of the Y. M. C. A. in Shanghai.

THE FACTS

The French Financial Situation

Why is France, after her "victory" in the war, now facing a financial crisis? What is the most important element in her difficulties? Can France settle her foreign debts?

ANSWERS to these and kindred questions are found in *The French Debt Problem* (Macmillan), the volume which Harold G. Moulton and his associates of the Institute of Economics have recently added to their series on the post-war European situation.

The French financial difficulties, according to the analysis by Dr. Moulton and Miss Lewis, cannot be laid to the failure of France to receive from Germany reparation payments approaching the amounts which she originally demanded. The essential economic impossibility of transferring from Germany to other countries sums which would reimburse Germany's former enemies for the cost of war damages was officially recognized by all countries in the adoption of the so-called Dawes Plan. As a matter of fact, however, the French expenditures for the reconstruction of the devastated areas are shown to have been not more than 70 billion francs while the French Government debt—held within the country, apart from the debt to other nations—increased from 123,794.3 million francs on December 31, 1918, to 284,250.3 million francs on November 30, 1924.

When France entered the war she had already accumulated a public debt larger in relation to population and national wealth than that of any other nation. The Franco-Prussian war had added nearly 9 billion francs to the French debt but after 1873 the debt had continued to increase, chiefly because of costly public works and an expensive policy of colonial expansion. Annual revenues and expenditures had approximately balanced from 1900 to 1910, but a deficit had reappeared with the increase in military expenditures which preceded the Great War. Up to 1914, however, the French public debt was a domestic concern. The French Government had not borrowed from foreign governments nor foreign bankers.

The orgy of credit by which all the European countries financed the war has been continued in France since the Armistice.—Government expenditures have year by year outrun the revenues from taxation and government monopolies. In 1924, for example, the Government spent 45.5 billion francs: 16.5 billions for interest on the public debt, although no interest was paid on the debt to foreign governments; 3.6 billions in pensions; 7.6 billions in military charges; 9.8 billions in civil expenditures; and 8.0 billions in physical reconstruction. The revenue for the same year from taxes and government monopolies, was 29 billion francs, leaving a deficit of 16.5 billion francs which could be met only by further borrowing. The loose budget practices of the French Government have made it difficult for the public to get at the exact figures. Even the "unified" budget for 1925 presented by M. Bérenger last February with severe criticism of previous budget methods did not pretend to include "capital expenditures for the liberated regions." In connection with their detailed analysis of 1924 revenue and expenditures from which they deduce the 16.5 billion francs deficit, Moulton and Lewis point out that members of the French Parliament have commonly assumed that the 1924 deficit was approximately 4 billion francs.

This basic difficulty of an unbalanced budget and a rapidly mounting public debt was overlooked by the observers who made much of various indications of prosperity in France since the war. Unemployment has at no time attained in France the serious proportions which have become chronic in Great Britain. The devastated areas have in large measure been rebuilt with factories and equipment

surpassing the standards of pre-war days. Nine-tenths of the farmland laid waste in the war has been restored to cultivation. Three years ago, in spite of a period of industrial depression, large amounts of government securities were absorbed in the French market and the Government made repayments on the "advances from the Bank of France." The international balance of trade and specie operations, services and interest on investment, had slowly improved since the war, in spite of capital losses in Russia and elsewhere. In 1924, for the first time since 1905, France's total of exports was greater than the total of imports. By continuing to pay no interest on the debt owed by the French Government to foreign governments, France was able in 1924 to show a net surplus in her international income account of 6.6 billion francs.

That in spite of these apparently favorable circumstances the franc continued to fall until a serious financial crisis has developed is due primarily to the steadily increasing deficits of the French Government. The cost of government borrowing in the open security market has risen as the credit of the Government has declined, and the inevitable "advances from the Bank of France" have swollen the volume of currency and brought even lower the ratio of gold reserve. Production had been stimulated by the demand for materials in the reconstruction of the invaded area, but this in turn has been one large item to swell the government deficit which must be met by borrowing. The increase in exports in 1924 was in part stimulated by the downward trend of the franc which invited purchases from buyers in countries whose currency is stabilized. Careful analysis of the international balance sheet of France does not give promise that the surplus which appeared in 1924 can be maintained. But the root difficulty is the deficit in government expenditures and the increasing burden of public debt which this creates.

Can this deficit be eliminated?

The work of physical reconstruction, now nearly completed, absorbed 8 billions of government expenditure in 1924. Approximately half of the expenditure thus classified goes in annuities and other payments which will have to continue for several years. The annual deficit would be reduced therefore by approximately 4.5 billion francs—or from 16.5 billions to approximately 12 millions—when actual building is completed. The present tax payments in France (more than two-thirds paid in indirect taxation) total fully 20 per cent of the national income. Direct taxes might be further increased but Moulton and Lewis estimate that not more than 2 billions, as a very outside estimate, could be added to the revenue through fresh taxation. At least 10 billions annual deficit would remain. Complete elimination of military expenditure would reduce this deficit by approximately 7.6 billions, but Moulton and Lewis point out that a twenty per cent, or approximately 1.5 billion francs, reduction in military expenditure would be the utmost that could be actually accomplished without international disarmament agreements. Even this would be impossible so long as active warfare is carried on. Other possible economies in civil expenditure might bring the total saving to 2 billion francs. The interest on the public debt—16.5 billion francs paid in 1924 plus the unpaid interest on the foreign political debt—is the one remaining item, and drastic reduction in the interest on the domestic public debt is, in Dr. Moulton's opinion, an essential alternative to national bankruptcy.

Payments by the French Government on the foreign political debt will be possible only as the Government develops a genuine surplus in its annual budget. The domestic debt of the Government has already reached unmanageable proportions. Further borrowing from French citizens for the payment of the foreign debt would simply increase the internal financial problem. Furthermore, the actual payment of a debt from one people to another is made not in currency but in goods and services. The surplus of exports and invisible services over the imports received by France is the measure of that which can be transferred. This principle was basic in the adjustment of reparation payments under the Dawes plan. It cannot be overlooked in any plan for settlement of the French foreign debts.

Would Great Britain, already menaced by an excess of imports over exports, and the United States, with goods in excess of domestic needs seeking markets throughout the world, welcome a great influx of French products? If France's international financial situation is brought under control and the surplus for payment of foreign debts ultimately becomes available, this question will have to be faced by those who insist that France must pay.

WORTH WHILE PLAYS

THREE productions of the month that we consider notably interesting are *Young Woodley*, *In a Garden*, and the modern clothes edition of *Hamlet*.

Something of the classic majesty of iambic verse is lost in the modern *Hamlet*, but the ideas and personalities in the play become something less—and thereby more—than majestic. This production brings out the emotional and mental motivation in the play, and new values—probably old values really—appear. There are anachronisms—the ghost, for instance, with a sepulchral voice and as flowing robes as any ghost in any *Hamlet*. Helen Chandler's Ophelia is as real as one could wish. Basil Sidney's Hamlet, after the first scene or two, when he was merely a classic Melancholy Dane to us, warmed up and became a human being, a person of intelligence and humor.

Young Woodley is a play so true and understanding, so flawlessly written and so beautifully acted that one could use most of the superlatives in the language and still feel a bit inadequate in doing justice to it. Young Woodley is eighteen years old and is confined in a preparatory school. He and all of his schoolmates are awakening to sex and want to understand it. The headmaster has never understood and has grown into a Puritan incapable of understanding. Their particular tutor is a libertine who poisons their minds and emotions with his innuendoes. The headmaster's wife, young Laura Simmons, tries to make the school life less lonely, less like a prison existence to Young Woodley and his chum. She assumes the *Camilla* rôle, which she finds too difficult for her to keep up when she comes to realize that she is in love with Woodley. When their affection for each other is discovered by the headmaster-husband, Woodley and Laura come to grief. Written with restraint, the play presents uncommonly sane and wholesome ideas of the values of adolescence. Glenn Hunter's perfect interpretation of Woodley is a magnificent performance in a drama beautifully produced and acted to the finest detail.

James Forbes' comedy, *Young Blood*, is another lively and interesting comedy-drama of neglected and misunderstood youth. It is honestly written and is probably true of much of our suburban life. The play, unfortunately, cheapens itself undeservedly by its insistence on being slangy. It is too good a play for some of its lines. Helen Hayes, who always makes a character live and breathe, gives her usual splendid performance. Norman Trevor and Florence Eldridge are also uncommonly good.

Philip Barry's *In a Garden* is a subtle drama of disenchantment worth going much out of the way to see. A young and lovely woman, the wife of a dramatist, weary of the pattern of life woven for her by her husband, tries, without success, to show him that life should be free and joyous instead of being a matter of plan like one of his well-made plays. *In a Garden*, beautifully written and brilliantly acted with Laurette Taylor in the leading part, is one of those superb plays that occasionally wander into the theatre and make a season distinguished by their presence. Two other plays suggest the revolt of modern woman. In Rachel Crothers' *A Lady's Virtue*, an unconventional prima donna and a small-town wife who is bored and tired of married life, seek romance and have a heart-breaking time of it. Florence and Mary Nash interpret them realistically. Noel Coward's *Lady's Virtue* is written around the conflict of the woman of the world with the hard and rigid standards of conventional women who com-

placently consider theirs the only code of morality. Mr. Coward's plot is hackneyed, but his characters are true to life, fresh and vivid. Jane Cowl, thoroughly interesting in a bright and glittering rôle, heads the distinguished cast.

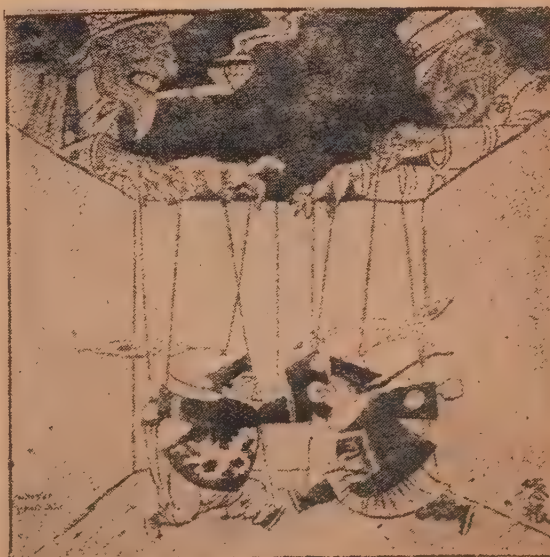
Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*, offered in a double bill with his *The Man of Destiny*, by the Theatre Guild, is merrily taking a swing at the pagan inconsistencies of Christians who do not realize what the implications of a really Christian religion are. The production, save for the splendid acting of Clare Eames, Henry Tavers and Tom Powers, and some other individual bits of characterization, is not noteworthy. The settings by Covarrubias struck us as completely inappropriate and jazzed out of all relationship to the play. *Morals*, Sidney Howard's version of Ludwig Thoma's *Moral*, presented by The Actors Theatre, with a very able cast, is a hearty and boisterous comedy on the theme that reactionary vice reformers are evil minded, vicious, and ridiculous.

Eugene O'Neill's romance of Ponce de Leon's search for the fountain of youth, *The Fountain*, is graced with some notably lovely settings by Robert Edmond Jones. The play has several intensely dramatic scenes, but as a whole, it did not seem to come as fully to life as Rostand's radiant *The Last Night of Don Juan*, which it succeeds at the Greenwich Village Theatre. Ibsen's *The Master Builder*, another realist's romance, presents youth knocking at the door of age demanding that age live up to the achievements and promise of its own youth. This dreamy tragic romance has, in idea, something in common with O'Neill's *Fountain*: age is old, and cannot do the glorious deeds of youth. Eva Le Gallienne plays the tomboy adventuring Hilda with bewitching charm and delightful imagination.

The Provincetown group have produced Webster's *The Man Who Never Died*, a melodramatic murder mystery which presents a Nietzschean super man and his philosophy. It is a brave experiment in production, but a play not very articulate in idea.

The Stagers produced *The Devil to Pay*, a philosophical drama by the late Herman Heijermans, an important Dutch dramatist. Although the characters were interesting and real, the events that happen to them seem to lack vital motivation. Heijermans apparently was more interested in his philosophy and in his characters than in keeping his drama alive. A very good cast contributed more to the play than the author, with Alexander Kirkland giving an especially good characterization.

COLEY B. TAYLOR.



A German view of the Chinese Internal Wars. America and Japan are featured as playing behind the scene. The *Eastern Miscellany* reproduced it with apparent approval

AS WE SEE IT

Make the World Court Mean Something

We go to press just as the Senate debate is scheduled to open on the entry of the United States into the World Court. We hope that when the vote is counted it will show that we are to take our place beside the other forty-eight member nations. We have indeed a great deal of sympathy with Senator Borah's desire to keep this country from responsibilities under the League of Nations leading away from peace: at any rate, until the present governments which hold supreme power are replaced by other governments at least as liberal as the MacDonald-Herriot variety; until the League is superseded by other international arrangements like those at Locarno, which free it from perpetuation of the war-breeding provisions of the Versailles Treaty; and until—perhaps by the very pressure of our reluctance to enter it as it is—its constitution is freed of the force sanctions and is made more responsible to the will of the smaller member states. But in this instance we believe Mr. Borah's fears are scarcely warranted by the facts. While the League, if it is to take that turn, is developing to the point of becoming on the whole a peace instrument (as, on the whole, it now is not) our membership in a Court connected with the League will perhaps give us a bond whereby we may preserve friendly contact with the League without too great commitments. But let us do what we can to make the Court something real as a means to peace! At present its chief weakness lies in its inability to try cases unless *both* parties to a dispute are willing to come before it; and wrongdoers are in general disinclined to join their victims, especially in cases serious enough to threaten war, in seeking neutral adjudication. But if we choose, we may join the Court, as twenty-three nations have, some with minor reservations on the basis of acceptance of affirmative jurisdiction; that is to say, giving the Court compulsory jurisdiction save in cases of a so-called domestic character. By so doing, we would make a small if not very significant contribution to world peace; considering, too, the fact that opinion in the United States is rallying around the court as something concrete on which to focus, we hope that our entrance will not be further delayed. Following which, it will be the duty of pacifists to remind any peace workers who may need reminding that after all they must start substantially where they were before, and pitch in for real outlawry of war. Better still! They can do everything possible, while the World Court debate is on, to see whether we cannot attach, as a condition of our entry, the following reservation worked out last summer as a compromise between advocates of the World Court and the Borah-Levinson outlawry plan: "Within two years after the adherence by the United States to the Court Protocol, the signatories thereto, including the United States Government, shall formally declare by approximate government action their endorsement of the following basic principles of the outlawry of war [substantially the same as the summary given in *THE WORLD TOMORROW* for January, 1924, page 10], and shall call an international conference of all civilized nations for the purpose of making a general treaty embodying these principles."

What Price Peace Propaganda?

If the United States is persuaded into another war, who in your sober opinion, will do the persuading? The avowed military-minded, professional soldiery? The one hundred per cent, unthinking patrioteers? Or the idealistic people exceedingly great in number, who strongly disbelieve in war in general but much less strongly stand against it in particular? We fear most of all the state of mind of this last group,—the very group instrumental in bringing this country into the last war, the group that proved willing to let the Allies have a blank check with our signature which they proceeded to fill in with their anti-pacific machinations, the group that was unable to achieve a settlement based on humanitarian, just principles when the war into which they had led us was done.

Unless we are totally wrong, it behooves pacifists (whose idealism burns just as strong but is tintured with realism) to consider well before they allow their wholesome desire for unity among the peace forces or their eagerness for "converts" to swamp their unique and invaluable principle in the general cry for "Peace, but . . ."

What we mean is the apparently growing tendency of peace proponents always to have their fingers crossed, always to temper their devotion to peace with nugatory reservations. Examples so abound as to make selection difficult. Mr. Channing Pollock, whose play, *The Enemy*, is effective in most other respects, crosses his fingers twice: once, by making a character qualify his other pacifist utterances by saying, "I believe in being prepared while there is any possibility of war!" (which, practically applied, would annihilate every other lofty sentiment expressed by his protagonists); and, again, by locating his victims of war psychology in one of the nations which we vanquished in the World War, instead of placing them courageously in the United States, where they should have been if the lessons of the play were to strike home. It seems to be quite the thing for pleaders for peace, prior to plunging into a real discussion of the abolition of war, to establish that they are "all right" by recounting how valorously orthodox was their behavior when the World War was on;—much in the manner of the woman who adduced as evidence of her knowledge of how to raise children the fact that she had buried eight! Likewise, presumably for the sake of greater influence, pacifists of indubitably uncompromising principles seem to think it useful to quote General Pershing, Marshal Foch, or David Lloyd George, for instance, as final authorities on peace; though we find it hard to understand why people who have displayed a lack of comprehension either of facts or of steadfast peace principles in war time, should be worth listening to, in comparison to less famous people who stood for peace through thick and thin, and who said some years ago the same things these others are beginning to say now. Of course, the effect of such practices is simply to contribute further to the public's already dangerous belief that such prominent oracles are reliable guides toward peace; when, as those who quote them so freely must know

at heart, they are but blind guides at best, if it is true that "by their fruits ye shall know them."

An acknowledged pacifist delegated to present a peace statement for ratification by a large denominational conference takes pains to assure his hearers that the statement they are being asked to commit themselves to is not "extreme pacifism." Pacifists, seeking sponsors for mass meetings or other pacifist projects, utilize almost exclusively, not the names of pacifists, but those of people known to stand up against war *most* of the time,—that is to say, when war is not here; a policy we believe to be shortsighted, since it wins to the support of pacifist programs many who, seeing the name of "safe and sane" peace advocates behind them, draw the natural—and reassuring—conclusion that the measures proposed cannot be so drastic as they sound and need not be taken to mean exactly what they say. An earnest young pacifist, making much of the strangely impressive fact that he failed to see straight about the World War and did his share to perpetuate hatred (to his present sincere regret), speaks before a conservative club, and crosses his fingers so effectually that the chairman of arrangements, a captain in the United States Army, enthusiastically writes afterward that the speaker "said nothing which any member of the ——— Club could not endorse"; and the young man's organization prints the captain's statement in its folder advertising the speaker, thus to assure all conservative groups that they need not be alarmed, because nothing is to be asked of them that will conflict with their orthodox views, their reliance on war as a *final* arbiter, their economic interests, or their superpatriotic sensitivity.

To those who honestly believe that the situation today makes such tactics in the long run helpful to their cause, we have little to say; only that once, when witnessing the gathering of a crop of ice, we saw a very zealous workman so concentrate on the piece of ice he happened to be sawing at the moment, forgetting about the rest of it, that he sawed himself entirely off from the main body of ice and suddenly found himself submerged. True enough, he was soon restored to equilibrium and set to work again; but after all, he had somewhat delayed the harvest.

First Aid to Autocrats

In Italy exists a government sufficiently despotic, cruel, and cynical in its philosophy to satisfy the requirements of the medieval Niccolò Machiavelli himself. Political opposition is ruthlessly crushed out, if necessary by murder or by torture. The expression of critical opinion is forbidden, and those organs which have ventured to voice liberal principles have been put out of business, frequently with force. Every shred of local self-government is being stamped out as rapidly as Mussolini can turn the wheels which pull democracy to pieces on the rack. Trade unions, under elected officials, standing up like free men and seeking to better the conditions of their labor, no longer exist; but instead, under the leadership of officials appointed by the government, are combined with employers' associations into a common organization where they are compelled to eat out of the latters' hands. Neighbor states are obliged to live in continual fear of the bully across their borders. Meantime, amidst the kind of romantic trappings associated in this country with the initiation ceremonies of rural lodges, "Il Duce" sits like a Caesar on his throne and jeers at liberty, at representative

government, at most of the principles civilized men hold dear, and preaches the divine right of force.

But no matter what its strength, his government could not possibly hope to remain in power a great deal longer without adequate funds; and adequate funds depend on support from outside sources. To Mussolini's rescue, however, the government of the United States of America has come most charitably, by effecting a settlement of the Italian debt on a basis very much more lenient than that hitherto extended to any European creditor. Of Great Britain we demanded approximately seventy-five cents on the dollar. France's offer of approximately forty-six cents on the dollar was rejected. Belgium was allowed to settle at about forty cents on the dollar. Italy, however, was permitted to settle at substantially twenty-five cents on the dollar. Simultaneously it was announced that a syndicate headed by J. P. Morgan and Co. had agreed to loan Italy \$100,000,000 at nearly 8 per cent interest plus commission; \$50,000,000 had been previously advanced and would be absorbed by the new loan; and the members of the Royal Italian War Debt Commission were feted by our leading bankers, eager to do them honor.

Why such concessions to this particular government, of which in the United States the House of Morgan is the chief beneficiary and the American people the victim? Perhaps the *Wall Street Journal* (November 19) supplies the most authoritative answer (italics ours): "As regards Italy's capacity to pay in the future, the commission was guided in its funding work, not by present resources, which are relatively poor, *but in that country being allowed to develop freely along promising new lines.*"

Why Dawes is Wrong on Cloture

Under the present rules of the Senate two-thirds of the members are able at any time to restrict debate to reasonable limits—the so-called limited cloture. But that is not enough for Vice-President Dawes, whose campaign about the country for strict cloture has at least had the merit of keeping him out of greater mischief. When he presses his campaign in the Senate, he will try to win public support by making it seem that the lack of strict cloture accounts for filibusters and for the Senate's lack of "efficiency." Thus it is important that the public should understand certain facts. First, that filibusters for the most part have been of great good to the country, in preventing huge frauds and the rushing through of legislation so bad as not to be able to stand full debate. Second, that in any event, the chief causes of filibusters are the multiplicity of bills in committees for the service of private rather than public ends, and the short session of Congress resulting inevitably in a last-minute jam of business. Third, that once strict cloture is applied, the Senate will become as susceptible of boss rule as the House notoriously is. Fourth, that a Senator filibustering against the machine frequently represents not only his own constituency but large numbers of people throughout the country to whom real representation through their own state's Senators is denied. If Vice-President Dawes really wants more efficiency in the Senate and not merely gag rule, let him work, as Senator Norris has, for an amendment to the Constitution requiring Congress to convene on January first of every year, thus eliminating the trouble-making short session.

Not in the Headlines

Killer of Negro Convicted

For the first time in the history of the courts of New Orleans a white man has been found guilty of the murder of a Negro. Frank De Rocha, a white blacksmith, has been convicted of killing Joseph and Ernest Baptiste, Negro laborers. The state's attorney asked for a conviction without capital punishment. Efforts are being made to appeal the case.

Conference of Women's Organizations

All national women's organizations and all national organizations having a large proportion of women members are being asked by the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor to send delegates to the Women's Industrial Conference in Washington, January 18 to 21. Employers and business organizations have also been invited.

League for Academic Democracy

A group of progressive educators have initiated the League for Academic Democracy to promote the realization of democratic principles within the educational institutions of the United States. Membership in the League is open to any person in sympathy with its purposes upon payment of one dollar. The President of the League is Prof. W. A. Crowley, of the University of Cincinnati; the Secretary-Treasurer is Prof. A. M. Hyde of the University of Illinois, 606 Penn. Ave., Urbana, Illinois.

The Sweet Trial

As we go to press, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, announces that it has in hand over half of the \$30,000 which will be required to meet the Garland Fund's offer of \$15,000 to be applied to a \$50,000 Legal Defense Fund necessary to fight the segregation case of Dr. Sweet of Detroit, and ten other Negroes charged with murder for defending Dr. Sweet's home from a mob of whites on September 9th. Walter White's report of the present status of the Sweet case is as follows: After 46 hours of violent argument, the jury disagreed. New trial has been agreed upon for the first week in January. All of the defendants were finally admitted to bail.

Military Training Comes Under Fire

Voluntary courses in military training have no proper place in connection with educational processes. And where they are compulsory, they should not be tolerated. Yet during the last school year, military instruction was given in more than 226 educational institutions in the United States. Of the 226 R. O. T. C. institutions, 124 were of college or university rank, 63 were high schools, and 39 were what are known as "essentially military schools." That this increasing penetration of war training into the schools is all part of a deliberate campaign by the War Department, is charged by Winthrop D. Lane in a concise but remarkably well documented pamphlet on *Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States*, with a foreword by Jane Addams, Senator Borah, John Dewey, Bishop McConnell, Rabbi Wise, W. E. B. DuBois, and more than fifty other prominent Americans. This pamphlet is bound to be of great service in supplying "ammunition" for the growing revolt against the militarization of our youth, and our readers are urged to make use of it in every way they can. Copies may be obtained from the Committee on Military Training, 387 Bible House, Astor Place, New York.

Low Lumber Wage

The average wage of sawmill laborers, about 60 per cent of all the employees in the lumber industry, is \$17.77 a week, according to Leland Olds in the *Federated Press*. This means less than \$900 a year if they get a full year's work.

Foreign Appeal to Coolidge

Because of the many workers in American prisons for political and industrial reasons, building workers in Sweden are sending an appeal to President Coolidge. The conference of the Swedish Workers Central organization, held in Gothenburgh, appeal to President Coolidge to lend his service towards the liberation of the victims.

Damascus Damage Estimate

The damage done to Damascus by the French bombardment amounts to a sum of £3,000,000, according to estimates made in the *London Daily Herald*. A prominent agriculturist, says the Damascus newspaper *Omran*, estimates that 15 years must elapse before Damascus regains her agricultural prosperity. The President of the Supreme Muslim Council, Jerusalem, cabled *The Bombay Chronicle* that 25,000 victims are buried in the ruins, that thousands more are homeless, and that the French are suppressing news. The Central Khilifat Committee of India have asked the League to cancel the French mandate of Syria.

Lena Gold Fields Concession

The Lena gold fields concession, provisionally granted to an Anglo-American syndicate by the Soviet Commissars in August, has been signed in final form by Felix Dzerjinsky of the Supreme Council of National Economy and counter-signed by Maxim Litvinoff of the Soviet Foreign Office. This concession is the largest yet made by the Soviet Government. It is in the form of a fifty-year contract with the Lena Goldfields Company for exploration of the Lena gold fields in Siberia, which are estimated to contain more than \$100,000,000 worth of gold. American banking interests participate to the extent of 50 per cent. Under the contract the Russian authorities turn over to the company many steamboats, steel barges and tugs for transportation on the Lena River. The company agrees to install \$7,000,000 worth of modern mining equipment, which will be largely of American manufacture.

Noteworthy Gains for Peace

The gathering peace opinion in the churches is witnessed by two noteworthy pronouncements on war by recent church conferences. The National Council of Congregational Churches at Washington, in its "Statement of Social Ideals," declared, among other less striking and yet outspoken statements, that "the church of Christ as an institution should not be used as an instrument or an agency in the support of war." At Washington, December 1-3, the Study Conference on the Churches and World Peace, comprising some 200 delegates from approximately 30 communions, considered remarkably basic questions, not excluding the place of absolute pacifism in the church's program, and agreed on a statement a great deal more thoroughgoing than most church viewpoints hitherto expressed. The statement, which our readers should have, is obtainable in full from the Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. It contains the following significant passage: "The Church should recognize the right and the duty of each individual to follow the guidance of his conscience as to whether or not he shall participate in war." The Conference provided for a Continuation Committee to carry the "Message" over to the churches and to promote "a real and abiding" campaign of education.

Books About China

The World Tomorrow reviews only books which it believes to be helpful and interesting. On rare occasions it includes unfavorable comment on a popular volume which seems sufficiently misleading to render adverse criticism imperative.

Western Culture and Chinese Literature

CULTURE in China received its foreign influence first from the Hindoos through the introduction of Buddhism, then from the Mongols and other Northern tribes through the introduction of songs and novels, and lastly from Europeans and through the introduction of western culture. Although the influence of Buddhism has been deeply rooted during the past centuries, that of western culture is equally far-reaching during the comparatively short period of only half a century elapsed since it was first introduced. It is true that western culture has been introduced to some extent during the early and the early part of the Manchu Dynasty, when the fathers brought to China some of the western arts and sciences. It is nevertheless true that it was only after the Opium War that China was compelled by necessity to seek for western culture, and that the influence of the latter began to show its effect. After the Opium War, China gave up her "isolation" and began to learn something of the outer world. In the year 1840 the Tung Wen Kuan was founded for the training of students in foreign languages. A little later, a translation bureau was created in connection with the Kiangnan Arsenal, which began to publish Chinese a number of volumes of Western standard works of science and arts. Owing to the dryness of these works, the influence was exerted on Chinese literature, until the translations of Yen Fu and Lin Hsü appeared during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Yen Fu was an Anglo-Chinese scholar of highest renown. He took the greatest care, he successively rendered into Chinese some of the world's greatest classics, such as Huxley's "Evolution and Natural Selection," Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations," Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Sociology," Montesquieu's "Spirit of Laws," and John Stuart Mill's "On Liberty." His style of writing is so fine that his translations are accorded high respect from students of the old and new schools. He is ranked at the same level as the works of the classical Chinese philosophers. It was mainly through his efforts that the Chinese people began to appreciate Western thoughts and ideals; and that they had admired only Western arts and manufactures.

Lin Hsü, a scholar, Mr. Lin Hsü, however, directs his attention to the belles lettres. In spite of his knowledge of any Western language, he has with the help of translators rendered into Chinese more than one hundred of the world's masterpieces from the mighty pens of Alexander Dumas and his son, Charles Dickens, Oliver Goldsmith, Washington Irving, and many other writers. As Mr. Lin Hsü is a writer of a literary style, all these translations are very readable to the old school, who hitherto did not know any foreign literature. He considered it inferior to the Chinese. Besides, in Chinese literature there was no long story written in the classical style. There were many in the easy literary, or vulgate, style. Thus Mr. Lin Hsü's translations have created a new chapter in the history of Chinese literature.

Western scholars have introduced into China more of the substance of foreign literature than of its form. It seems to be their purpose to give free translation and to preserve the Chinese style as far as possible. It is only within the last few years, that the vulgate style became prevalent, that writers have begun

to emphasize exact translation and have gradually introduced a European style of writing into Chinese literature.

The crushing defeat of China in the Sino-Japanese War opened the field of journalistic writing to the discussion of political problems, which had hitherto been limited to commercial bulletins and government gazettes.

The first magazine claiming as its aim and end the advocacy of political reforms was the Shih Wu Pao, under the editorship of Mr. Liang Chi-chao, one of the principal figures in the Reform Movement of 1898. When the reformed government was overthrown by the reactionaries led by the Empress-Dowager Tsi Hsi, Mr. Liang Chi-chao took refuge in Japan. There he started the Sin Min Tsung Pao, making it his organ of propaganda. In order to make his preaching popular and attractive, he was bold enough to free himself from the yoke of the classical style, and practically created a sort of journalistic style. This liberated spirit of writing, together with the important topics under discussion, induced many Chinese students in Japan to follow Mr. Liang Chi-chao's example; so that at one time there were no less than fifty periodicals published by these students with the uniform object of advocating political reforms.

The last and latest step of progress has brought Chinese journalism from the political field to the social field, laying stress upon what is called the "New Culture." For the shifting of the centre of journalism, a great deal is due to *La Jeunesse*, a monthly magazine of immense influence, especially on the epoch-making topic of the "literary revolution." The most prominent writers in this magazine were Mr. Chen Tu-shiu and Dr. Hu Shih, both professors of the Peking National University. Their propaganda has wide-spread effects and has entered deeply into the student circle. In consequence, many new magazines have been started, and new sections have been set aside in existing papers for the discussion and recommendation of the new culture. Thus one can easily see what an important position journalistic writing, an import from the West, has occupied in modern Chinese literature.

The wounds received by China during the Boxer Uprising of 1900 were too severe for the government to resist any longer the cry for reform. In the year 1902 an Imperial Edict was issued, causing the conversion of all *shu yuan* or old academies into schools and colleges of the Western form; and in the next year followed another memorable edict, abolishing the eight-limbed composition which was a compulsory requirement in all literary examinations since the Ming Dynasty. Thus began what we call the new system of education. Since then, the system has been modelled and remodelled until we come to the existing form, which is similar to that prevailing in the United States. Instead of the rigid form of the eight-limbed composition, the subject for which was entirely confined to the interpretation of a single passage or phrase of the Confucian Classics, students have now much more freedom to express their thoughts in a wider field; instead of the research nature of the *shu yuan* which might do good only to post-graduates of abstract sciences, students have now been admitted to the whole field of learning from the very elementary to the highly professional grade. No doubt, the widened scope of learning and the liberated spirit of writing have jointly contributed a great deal to the revolution of Chinese literature.

Moreover, with the advent of new educational institutes, textbooks for various subjects and grades are urgently needed. To meet the new demand, a great many educational books, which occupy a very

important place in recent publications, have been issued from time to time. The earliest supplier of these educational books was the Commercial Press, now the largest publishing house in China, which in addition to many other publications and products, has put out no less than three thousand different volumes of textbooks for schools and colleges within the last twenty years. Modern textbooks are not only different in substance from those that existed in the past; they are radically new in style and arrangement. It is evident, therefore, that the advent of modern textbooks alone creates a new phase in the Chinese literature.

So much for the influence of Western culture in its general aspects. We have now to turn our attention to some of the specific ways in which this influence manifests itself. These are (1) the introduction of phonetic symbols, (2) the adoption of the *pei hua* or vulgate style, and (3) the systematization of ancient literature. A reference to each of these points is necessary.

The introduction of Chinese phonetic symbols has long been suggested, at first by missionaries, and then by far-sighted Chinese scholars. Realizing the great difficulty and enormous number of Chinese characters on the one hand, and discovering the extremely high percentage of illiterates among the people on the other hand, this method was advocated chiefly for the promotion of popular education. During the last twenty years of the Manchu regime, various systems of phonetic symbols were invented by scholars and educators; and private schools, as well as at least one government institute at Nanking, were established for training students in reading and writing with these symbols. At the beginning, the symbols were sometimes pronounced according to local dialects; but in the later part of the period, when the need of a unified national language became very urgent, it was generally accepted that only the Peking dialect should be followed in pronouncing the symbols.

The adoption of *pei hua*, or the vulgate style, is another step of first importance towards the progress of modern Chinese literature. As every one knows, the Chinese language is divided into the classical and the vulgate style, the former being the language of the dead past, or of the aristocratic class, while the latter that of the living present, or of the populace. Although efforts have long been made to introduce the *pei hua* literature to the people, the recognition of *pei hua* as the legitimate heir to the classical language is an issue of very recent date. This seems to be one of the results of the comparative study of languages, as such a movement found its root in the controversy started by a few Chinese students studying in America.

In the year 1917, the first declaration of these champions was published in *La Jeunesse*. It consisted of an article by Dr. Hu Shih on "Some Suggestions for the Reform of Chinese Literature," which was followed by another one on "A Revolution in Literature" by Mr. Chen Tu-shiu. In both of these articles, the classical language was openly declared to have outlived its usefulness and to have been responsible for the utter poverty in literary masterpieces during the past twenty centuries. There arose long and bitter arguments, which lasted for two or three years, and resulted in the final victory for the new party, as shown in the order issued by the Ministry of Education in 1920, requiring that the reading lessons for the first two grades of primary schools should be in the vulgate style.

This official recognition of the literary revolution has far-reaching effects. The requirements of *pei hua* in primary schools necessitates the training in *pei hua* in the normal and middle schools, which in turn creates a tendency of writing in this style in colleges and higher normal schools, where teachers of these secondary schools are trained. Such a requirement, as well as the simplicity of handling *pei hua*, has, in the past few years produced many books and periodicals in this style. Not only prose but also poems are written in *pei hua*. The most popular among the poems are Dr. Hu Shih's writings collected in a booklet called "The Trial." Dr. Hu Shih used to be a talented poet in the classical style; but his poems in the vulgate form are no less beautiful and attractive, according to

the judgment of impartial critics. Thus *pei hua* has proved potent and is bound to become the dominating style in the expression of thought.

The systematization of ancient literature is a revival of the work of the Han Hsueh scholars with the aid of Western methods. When we mean a school of research students, beginning at the end of the Ming Dynasty and continuing almost throughout the whole Tsing Dynasty, who were dissatisfied with the subjective method of interpreting the ancient classics by the philosophers and scholars of the Sung Dynasty, and who based every conclusion on the evidences obtained mostly from the study of ancient phonetics or from other substantial references. Through the efforts of this school, many books which were hitherto believed to be authentic were found to be spurious, and a vast amount of material for ancient history was proved to be of pure invention and utterly unreliable. In spite of the valuable service rendered, this school, however, was condemned during the last decade of the Tsing Dynasty as having taxed too much the students' energy for trifling evidence. But the work of this school has been recently revalued by some of the foremost scholars who have dipped into Western culture. They consider it no less scientific in principle than the methods used by historians and archeologists in the West; and with the aid of logic and other sciences from the West, they have reentered into this research in a new spirit. It is interesting to note that the very leaders of the *pei hua* movement are the ones who take the lead in the systematization of ancient literature. Apparently the two kinds of work are contradictory; but in fact they have to go hand in hand, because systematization of ancient literature helps the ordinary readers to understand the time-worn texts more readily, just as "vulgarization" of writing helps beginners to read and write more readily.

Y. W. WONG.

Millard on Asiatic Conflict

IN *The Conflict of Policies in Asia* Thomas F. Millard emphasizes the fact that the chief interests of the United States now lie in the Far East and the Pacific, and that China is the focus of the problem. While policies of other Powers exist the American doctrine of the Open Door is the key to the situation. Hence he asserts "Imperishable fame awaits the American statesman who will declare the Hay Doctrine to be the unilateral policy of the United States. . . . The time is ripe for such a declaration."

The Great War has reduced the number of the chief Pacific Powers to three; namely, the United States of America, Great Britain and Japan. Political disintegration and military weakness of the young Chinese Republic afford grounds for conflict among those Powers. Mr. Millard thinks that the United States sadly failed in the Shantung deal at the Paris Peace Conference, but the Washington treaties restore her to her rightful place. Britain's political and economic interests in India and the Far East lead her to view with great apprehension America's attitudes toward the Philippines and China, while Japan's ambition to Asiatic hegemony constitutes a serious negation to the American policy. With the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, however, there would be no war with Britain, and the United States could easily beat Japan according to a strategic plan (pp. 207-214).

As to China, her "disintegration correctly can be attributed to two main causations: the throes of a nation in the course of a fundamental change of its political structure, and the designs of foreign powers which wanted to keep China weak and inefficient. This latter influence was powerful, and contributed to the situation that exists now." "China's situation cannot be changed in the line of a genuine reestablishment of her sovereign rights *except by a broad-cast revision of treaties.*" For her political stabilization Mr. Millard suggests a financial scheme by transferring China's debts to other

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in governments to the United States, and reducing what those governments owe the United States by these amounts. Then what accommodation is granted by the United States to those governments by way of extension of credits, or reduction of debts, can be extended to China also.

An experienced journalist, Mr. Millard is keen in analyzing current political events. But no real solution of the Far Eastern problem can be had by any artful manoeuvring of traditional diplomacy or an actual demonstration of military strength. The Open Door policy is a belated means for the protection of the commercial interests of the United States in China. It is essentially negative in character. Its object is to try to restrain other foreign powers from making more special concessions in that land. China's weakness is only ground for its existence. For a permanent peace in the Far East China's struggle for her national life and for a new democracy on her own soil claims the utmost consideration and not selfish interests of any foreign power there. Unless nations learn to have goodwill, sympathy and understanding, instead of concentrating on their motives for domination and profit, there is nothing in the world to prevent serious conflicts in Asia.

The bulk of the book consists of the author's memoranda written contemporaneously with the events. While they serve to illustrate strikingly the processes of his current opinions they often involve inaccuracies. Included in the appendices are the Washington treaties and the Japanese Twenty-one Demands of 1915.

CHING-JUN LIN.

The Anti-Christian Movement

THE *Anti-Christian Movement*, recently published by the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. of China, is a collection of the Christian Movement literature translated into English and preceded by an introduction.

In the Introduction a number of reasons are listed to show why religion, particularly Christianity, should be opposed. Religion hinders intellectual progress, creates group distinction, engenders superstition, and makes men other-worldly and therefore content with the status quo of society. With all the qualities of religion Christianity has also been an instrument of oppression and imperialism.

The article, "Evangelism and Imperialism," alleges that Western missionaries have been using missionaries as forerunners of their civilization policy. Missionaries often opened the way and then colonial domination followed. History proves that Spain, France, and Germany, and other Western nations have secured their colonies and special rights from Africa, the Near East and the Far East by using Evangelism as the opening wedge for imperialism.

Christian missionaries first arrived in China in 1582. For a period of 100 years their effort had been without success. Then the Western nations emerged from feudalism into nationalism. So, beginning with the Opium War in 1840, Christian missions allied with the imperialistic governments. Consequently the Christian missions made great strides under the protection of militarism. From the Opium War to the Boxers' trouble there have been four military conquests by Western Powers in China and after each conquest special rights were secured to further their trade and missionary interests.

Christianity has been found useful by the prosperous classes to serve the status quo in society. The wealthy and the powerful are supposed to be God's elect and the poor and the unfortunate are to resign to the will of God and feel content with their miseries. "Capitalism and Christianity are in close union." America, the most powerful country in the world, is where capitalism and the Christian Church are most flourishing.

"What is Jesus?" is an attempt to question Christianity itself on its own merits. The New Testament, the document upon which Christianity is based, is full of alterations, legends and inaccuracies. There is nothing particularly remarkable in the life of Jesus who is no better than "any chief of the outlaw class." On the contrary,

the parables of the Ten Virgins (Matthew xxv 1-13) and the Fig Tree (Mark xi) show that Jesus was very selfish and revengeful. Therefore the history of the religion of cruelty, selfishness and vengeance has been characterized by Roman Catholicism, the Dark Ages and the Inquisition. Modern philosophers like Tolstoy and the Neo-Idealists attempted to save Christianity from its natural death. They have interpreted Christianity and injected into it their own ideas in such a way that their Christianity is only Christian in form.

All five articles in this collection are carefully written. The articles on Evangelism and Imperialism, Christianity and China, and Modern Christianity show signs of scholarship and clear thinking while the Introduction and the article on What is Jesus? are more or less statements of opinion which do not seem to be based on a fair understanding and thorough study of the subjects in discussion. However, these articles should be most interesting and stimulating reading for those who are vitally interested in the Christian religion.

PAUL C. MENG.

Asia's Challenge

IN comparatively small space Mr. Stanley Rice has given us in *The Challenge of Asia* an admirable treatment of the timeliest of topics. Not only does he deal with what is more immediately suggested by the title of the volume, but at even greater length he gives a summary of that advance of Europe into Asia which in our own time has brought about a turn of the tide.

This summary of Europe's Asiatic adventure is given with lucidity and with conspicuous fairness. Certain statements, however, will provoke dissent. Of course, the mention of the Japanese general Hideyoshi as (p. 95) "the great Emperor" and (p. 105) a "king" may be regarded as a slip. But to say that "the Japanese borrowed their language from China and their religion from India" is rather

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less correct than asserting that the English borrowed their language from Rome and their religion from Asia. It would also be difficult to defend the assertion that "the most medieval Emperor of China attempted was the conquest and settlement of the northern provinces."

In spite of these and similar blemishes, the present volume makes a definite contribution to present-day literature on Oriental questions. It is particularly valuable for setting forth the extent to which modern Asia is becoming self-conscious and determined upon an adjustment of relations with the West. The fact that this new consciousness is imposing a tremendous responsibility upon the intelligence and good sense of the Western world is also set forth very plainly. The day is forever gone by for the Macaulay attitude which professed, in the light of an assumed Occidental superiority, to see nothing valuable in Asiatic culture or civilization. Asia, particularly since the Great War, has not only come to appreciate her own distinguished contributions to world civilization but has also caught glimpses of the imperfections of that Western world which she was hitherto subservient. Perhaps Mr. Rice traces this discovery too largely to the military achievements of Japan since 1894 and too little to British success (and British failure) in India. But he sees clearly enough that the prestige of the West has suffered in the eyes of the East and that the East has correspondingly rallied to some faith in its own ideals.

What will be the result is not stated at any length. Mr. Rice is wise in limiting his "prophetic" chapter to generalities. He sees the weakness of Asiatic nationalisms as at present revealed, in the subordination of Chinese patriotism to the family interest and in the too mechanical conception of democracy in India. He fails to recognize the part which may possibly be played by Russia in the unification of Asia, preferring apparently to believe that Russia will ultimately throw in its support to "the white race." In the light of the last year's happenings in Eastern Asia this view is certainly, from a Western point of vision, a little optimistic. In *The Challenge of Asia* the part of Russia must be a very considerable one.

Perhaps if Mr. Rice had viewed the whole subject from a Pacific rather than from a European point of view he would have seen the best reasons for assurance as respects the future in the fact that the commonwealths around the Pacific Rim are already beginning to contemplate the substitution of a policy of understanding and coöperation for a policy of mutual fear. The ultimate peace of the world must come not through the renaissance of Asiatic spirit with a view to the expulsion of Europe, or through a revival of European aggressiveness to regain its slipping dominance. It must come rather through the recognition that East and West are parts of a common civilization held together by common principles of justice and universal nationalism for world service rather than for the selfish exploitation of other peoples.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

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Annals of "The Green Year," July, 1925. Documents concerning events on and since May 30 in Shanghai assembled by the National Y. W. C. A. of China, at Shanghai.

Life, July, 1925. A special number in English, with articles chiefly by Chinese Christians, of the journal published by The Life Fellowship, 104 Y. M. C. A., Peking.

MODERN CHINA, BY CHINESE

Awakened, by M. T. Z. Tyau. Macmillan, \$5.00.

Today Through Chinese Eyes. Doran, \$1.25. An excellent book by several prominent Chinese writers.

China, by Sih-Geng Cheng. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919, 50.

MODERN CHINA, BY AMERICANS

Challenge to Christianity, by Lucius C. Porter. Missionary Education Movement, cloth, 75 cents; paper, 50 cents. Compact, interesting study by an American born in Peking who was for two years head of Department of Chinese at Columbia University. Brief, classified bibliography.

Development of China, by Kenneth S. Latourette. Houghton Mifflin, \$2.50.

Christian Education. International Missionary Council, 25 Madison Ave., New York, 50 cents. A report of a conference of Chinese and Americans held in New York City, in April, 1925.

Present Situation in China and Its Significance for Christian Missions, issued by the Committee of Reference and Counsel, Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 25 Madison Ave., New York.

CHINESE HISTORY

History of Chinese History, by Ung Bing Li. Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1914. An excellent one volume history of China in English written by a Chinese.

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CHINA

TARIFF:

Tariff Problem in China, by Chin Chu. Columbia Studies in History, Economics and Public Law, Vol. LXXII, No. 2, Whole No. 169. New York, 1916. Longmans, \$1.50.

Foreign Trade of China, by Chong Su See. Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. LXXVII, Whole No. 199. New York, 1919. Longmans, \$3.50.

Rapports entre le Commerce Extérieure de la Chine et Sa Situation Financière, by Fung Y. Oung. Paris, 1919.

Financial Control in China, by T. W. Overlach. Macmillan, 1919.

at the Special Tariff Conference, by F. A. Aglen. 19th Century and After, Vol. 96, pp. 282-91. August, 1924.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY:

territoriality in China, by Tan, Wang, and Huang. Supplement to *Chinese Students' Monthly*, 155 Sibley St., Detroit, Mich., of September, 1925, 25 cents. Brief summary, well documented, of historical background and present status of this subject.

territoriality: Its Rise and Its Decline, by Shih Shun Liu. Longmans (for Columbia University), \$2.50.

Alien in China, by V. K. W. Koo. Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, Vol. L, No. 2, New York, 1911. Longmans, \$2.50.

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- Article in British Yearbook on International Law*, 1921-2, by M. T. Tyau.
- Studies in Chinese Diplomatic History*, by Ching Lin Hsia. Commercial Press, Ltd., Shanghai, 1924.

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- The Foreign Relations of China*, by Ming Chien Joshua Bau. Re \$4.00. History, rich in quotations from original sources.
- Revision of Chinese Civil Code*, by Chung Wei Wang. 13 Illinois Law Review, 219-233.
- The Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, published by Chinese Social and Political Science Society, Peking, China. Vols. 1 to 9 incl. gives the best information on foreign relations of China and allied subjects with documents.
- Chinese Students' Monthly*, 155 Sibley St., Detroit, Mich.
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1. Has China suffered unjustly from Western nations during last hundred years? What is the most serious injustice?
2. Has the United States been contradicting its professional friendship to China? If so, at what points?
3. Is there any justification for the attitude, assumed by the eign authorities in Shanghai after the shooting of Chinese students on May 30, that no admission of error was possible on the part of the foreign police?
4. Does refusal to admit its mistakes protect the honor and prestige of a people or a nation?

II. Getting at the Truth

1. Which Occidental in China is more likely to understand Chinese viewpoint: a. The foreign business man. b. The foreign missionary. c. The foreign diplomat. d. The foreign journalist. What special bias might bring its own peculiar prejudice in each case?
2. How do you account for the serious differences of opinion on the present situation among missionaries living in the same country and presumably having access to the same facts?
3. Would you look for advice as to practical policy to an Occidental who knows and respects the Chinese and their civilization or to one who assumes the essential superiority of the Western world?
4. What are the chief hindrances to a true understanding of present disturbances on the part of the American public? how far are similar hindrances present in relation to all foreign questions? In how far are they peculiar to the Chinese situation?

III. Our Mental Images

1. List all the usual statements about China and the Chinese that you can remember,—both favorable and unfavorable. What equivalents could a Chinese fairly list if he were characterizing Americans? Would the resulting picture of the United States satisfy us as complete? What is the most conspicuous unfairness in our common picture of the Chinese?
2. What "Christian" teachings are found in the ideals of behavior taught by Chinese philosophers? (See articles by D. Z. Yen, T. C. Chao, and A. W. Hummel.)
2. Has history given us any right to assume a greater dynamism for goodness in Christianity than in the idealism of Confucius and other Chinese sages?
4. Should our high schools and colleges introduce (and require) some study of Asiatic history and literature?

IV. The Political Implications

1. What treaty provisions now limit China's sovereignty?
2. Are the Chinese right in claiming that China's sovereignty would still be impaired if abrogation of treaty privileges at any certain date were made conditional on her actions before that date?
3. Does financial interest ever justify infringement of sovereignty?
4. What action by the United States for fair dealing and our maintenance of friendship for China require in relation to, a. Chinese tariff. b. Extraterritoriality. c. Use of American marine and gunboats in Chinese cities and rivers. d. American participation in the International Settlement at Shanghai and "concessions" in other cities. e. Chinese immigration.

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FROM a little group of a dozen or so, THE WORLD TOMORROW Coöperators have grown to an association of nearly 500 members, each contributing \$5 or more toward the sustaining fund. The contributing editors, writers and artists generously donate their work, and part of the regular staff work is unpaid also.

A WELL-CONSIDERED plan of coöperative finance will soon be laid before you. Meanwhile all of you who have been following the fortunes of THE WORLD TOMORROW through the past year will rejoice with us that we turn the corner of this New Year so triumphantly.

THE number of the Coöperators has doubled since 1924. The broadest base of all—the number of \$1.00 subscriptions—might well double during the year 1926, to judge by the popularity of THE WORLD TOMORROW as a Christmas and New Year gift. We have had letters from, literally, scores of people, each sending the magazine to friends, two, three, four, five, six, ten or twelve. Here are three of the letters:

"THESE are not Christmas gifts. They are good things of the spirit passed on to people who may enjoy them and live by them and pass them on again. I cannot tell you how much THE WORLD TOMORROW means to my personal life and how much help I get from it in my effort to teach young people."

"I WISH to say that I read THE WORLD TOMORROW each month with pure pleasure and delight. I am a reference librarian and I go through a great deal of periodical material. THE WORLD TOMORROW is in a class all by itself."

"I WANT to commend you on the fine quality of every single number. It's a corking paper and whether in spite of or because of skimpy funds it certainly holds its own. (From personal experience I sometimes think the paper with the skimpy funds has more character than some others, like lots of poor folks.)"

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The Last Page

ONCE, not so long ago—believe it or not—an idea got abroad in the land. One of my faithful reporters, Lucia Trent, intercepted it and secured the following interview:

"I am only an Idea, but since I find myself so rare a phenomenon, some of my experiences may not be without interest. If I put myself into words, I represent a doubt of the necessity or desirability of the human institution of war,—and a horrifying Idea, to be sure, I appear to the minds of many of your leading citizens.

"For example, lately I attempted to force an entrance into the cultivated cranium of the elderly lady-principal of a young girls' finishing school. I was dismissed abruptly with the curt remark that 'Utopian fancies were not entertained seriously by intellectual minds.'

"My next approach was to the intellect of a chewing-gum manufacturer, who immediately escorted me to his mental threshold with staggering statistics on the number of packages of gum which had been consumed by the soldiers in the late war.

"I then came to a middle-aged woman, a Methodist, sweeping her porch. 'Our pastor holds no such views,' she snapped, authoritatively, and brushed me out with the rest of her sweepings.

"But I am a very persistent Idea. I knocked on the door of a young athlete's mind, who had recently become engaged. 'Oh, shucks,' he chuckled, good-naturedly. 'There'll always be wars, and, anyway, Mabel likes uniforms.'

"My next attempt was centered on a young teacher of history, fresh from a leading woman's college, whose bobbed hair and delightful modernity I thought might make her accessible. 'Oh, dear,' she exclaimed, 'if there weren't wars I'd lose my job!'

"A Fundamentalist minister hurled me out headlong in holy horror with some lengthy Scriptural quotations. Whereupon I betook myself to the more imaginative brain of a philosopher. 'War is as eternal as the stars,' he told me, 'and ancient as human pain.'

"Such, you see, are the inhospitalities one encounters. I can think of many an existence less hazardous and more serene than that of an Idea like myself; but there is always one gratifying thing about it: *no one can kill you off!*"

* * *

FROM another reporter I have received a poem—as verse is sometimes called—the author and publishers of which are alike unknown. (I should want to be, myself!) Just to show that this department believes in free speech, however, I permit the publication here of this propaganda for a viewpoint I have often made my target.

APOSTASY

I'VE run about lately with folk intellectual,
Minds that are flashing and clashing
In strife.
Making me feel like a worm ineffectual,
Only much slower and lower
In life.
In such a rarefied air I've been terrified,
Reft of opinion, a minion so small
That it is risible, I am not visible
Under the eyebrows of highbrows at all.
So I am lonesome for lowbrows and no brows,
Average people of standard design.
Down with supernal minds,
Mix me with normal minds,
Ladies' Home Journal minds,
Something like mine.

I am exhausted by flights conversational,
Wearied by phrases like blazes
Of fire.
Take me away from all tests cerebrational,
My brain is swimming, beginning
To tire.

Perish such vertigo, back I prefer to go
With those who shine not and pine not
A lot.

Dull unsophistic folk, non-analytic folk,
Minds of the kind that I find that
I've got.

Yes, I am joyously spurning all learning,
Gaily forsaking the heights I've been shown.
Farewell to supple minds,

Come let us group our minds,
We who are frankly bromidic in tone,—
All of us stagnating folk, non-corruscating folk,
Talking of commonplace things we have known.

Give me benighted minds, Mencken-indicted minds,
Harold Bell Wrighted minds—
Just like
My own.

* * *

TELL me how this affects you and I will tell you (i dare) what you are. As for me, it got me going sort of thing like this.

FIDELITY

I'VE met a lot of folk proud of inanity,
Who never have thought as they ought
On a thing,
Making me seem like a snob full of vanity,
Smug in my sphere with a sneer
Full of sting.
Mid such a lightheaded mass long have I treaded
Daring to speak with cheek and with gall,
That I have come to be, by those quite dumb to me,
Hated, berated, in measure not small.
Hence I am wishing and constantly fishing
For comrades whose brains are of sturdier stuff.
Down with all level heads,
Good but for revel heads,
Thick as the devil heads;
I've had enough.

I'm growing weary of meaningless tall talk,
Sick of wise sayings like brayings
Of mules.
Take me away from all chattering small talk,
Phrases congealed that are spieled
By set rules.
Let all the lowbrows rot, I'll never care a jot;
Me for the Bo who will go to
Great pains,—
Filled with the zest of youth, eager to find the truth,
One not afraid of, with high grade of,
Brains.
We who are burning with zeal for more learning,
Are willing to double our trouble and toil.
'Ray for contentious minds,
Keen, conscientious minds,
Minds that make logey ones bubble and boil!
We who dare try to think (not stopping at the brink)
Into deep problems that have to be solved,
Need not apologize,—leave that to shallow guys;
We'll only eulogize
Minds more
Evolved.

ECCENTRICUS.

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THE 1925 index of THE WORLD TOMORROW will be sent with the January number to all libraries. All other subscribers who desire it may obtain it, without charge, upon request after January

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Vol. IX January, 1926 No. 1

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The Point of View

THE fact that China vanished some weeks ago from the front page of the daily papers, reappearing for brief moments when the Tariff Conference and the Extraterritoriality Conference were convened at Peking, does not mean that all is now serene and the conflicts which flared up and disturbed the assurance of the Western world during the early summer have been justly and peaceably resolved. Far from it. The Chinese are keenly aware of the encroachments upon China's sovereignty to which they have been compelled to agree during the last eighty-five years. Their endurance of insult and ignorant contempt from the European and American settlers in the treaty ports is at last wearing thin. If the relation of China and the powers is to be peaceably adjusted matters cannot be allowed to drift until another flare-up reminds us of the unsettled conflict. The little groups of far-seeing friends of China at work in the United States, Great Britain and Japan for the immediate abrogation of the unequal treaties need the help and backing of an enlightened public.

BUT most of us are desperately ignorant as to what the Chinese themselves desire. We know little of the basic attitude toward life which guides the educated Chinese and to a large measure determines the habits of the entire people.

IN the present number, thanks to wise counsel from various friends of China in this country and the active, generous, and effective assistance of Miss Helen Thoburn, of Shanghai, and other friends, Chinese and American, in China, we are able to present a group of articles and reviews which with two exceptions have been penned by Chinese writers. Arthur W. Hummel, of the Yenching School of Chinese Studies, has lived twelve years in the Far East and all but two of these in China. His article on Force in Chinese Philosophy has been prepared in collaboration with Chinese friends. H. H. Gowen, who reviews a book by an English writer, is one of the Americans on the Pacific Coast whose understanding of Oriental culture has kept him immune from the epidemic of prejudice.

THE articles on the spirit and ideals of China are contributed respectively by David Yui, president of the National Christian Council of China and general secretary of the China Y. M. C. A., and by T. C. Chao, who has been professor of sociology and religion and is now dean of arts and sciences at Soochow University. The very important

Youth Movement of China is interpreted by T. L. Shen, also a graduate of Soochow University, who is now student secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of China.

ON the future of foreign financial operation we have a frank and informing article from D. K. Lieu, of Chinese Government Bureau of Economic Information at Peking. Frank W. Lee, writes on extraterritoriality, has been Commissioner of Foreign Affairs at Canton. Chief of the Bureau of Political Affairs under Dr. Wu Ting-Fang's ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Dr. Sun Yat-Sen, but at present his position is not political. He is now Professor of History at Shanghai College. T. C. Chao, the writer on the recent development of labor in China, is on the faculty of American Indemnity Fund College (Tung Hua College) at Peking.

THE brief article on current trends in Chinese literature which opens our review section is from Y. W. Wong, editor-in-chief of the largest publishing house in China. One of the leading Chinese poets, writing in the vulgar dialect to which Mr. Wong refers, is I-To Wen, Dean of the National Academy of Arts at Peking. His verses entitled, "I am a Chinese," have been especially translated for this number of THE WORLD TOMORROW. The other Chinese reviewers are Paul Meng, secretary of the Chinese Christian Students' Association in the United States, and Ching-Tsun Lin, a student at Madison, New Jersey. For the cartoons we are indebted to the Columbia Library file of Eastern Miscellany, a Chinese weekly published in Shanghai. This paper, by the way, is printed in the Chinese city but its distributing office is in the International Settlement, and we have been told that its issues were suppressed by the former municipal authorities because they did not like the tone of the comment on the foreign powers.

TURNING to the Western world, we have this month a review of The French on the French financial situation, based on the excellent recent volume by Harold Moulton and Cleona Lewis of the Institute of Economic Research. The page of Not in the Headlines news gives brief but significant items. And comment on head events will be found on the pages As We See It, which follow the articles on China. Worth While Plays and The Last Page also included as usual.

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